STORM VANS... Guiana

Vol - II

1911

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Storm Van s G
-lhr rise of
Guiana
by
A Harris a
J.A.J de Vill
Vol II

EXTRACTS

London, 191

FROM THE

DESPATCHES WRITTEN BY

[redacted]NS STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE

TO THE

60297

[redacted]ORS OF THE ZEELAND CHAMBER
THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

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TORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE

THE RISE

OF

BRITISH GUIANA

COMPILED FROM HIS DESPATCHES

BY

A. HARRIS, C.B., C.M.G.,
CHIEF CLERK, COLONIAL OFFICE,

AND

J. A. J. DE VILLIERS,
OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

60297
ac.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY
1911

60297

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

P.R.O. 470/174

May 2, 1760.

(xtract)

I am in receipt of Your Honours' letter of the December last[1], and since there has been no oppor-ty of writing you prior to the departure of the Sequibo Welvaeren," I have now the honour to rge that duty, and will speak of the matter of i.

ust and doubt not that Their High Mightinesses n proper satisfaction for an act that is so entirely to the law of nations, and I can very well under-t the death of the King of Spain must delay the t of the matter.

e very little to add to what I have already had ur of submitting to YY. HH. in several of my s, and although I am aware, as YY. HH. are o inform me, that no Treaties have been made cided that the dividing boundary in South ould run inland in a direct line from the sea-he case with the English in North America, it to me (*salvo meliori*) to be an irrefutable fact s themselves, which have been in the possession such a large number of years, and have been ubjects of the States without any or the least

[1] See note, p. 362.

opposition on the part of the Spanish, are most certainly the property of YY. HH. I am strengthened in my view of this matter by the fact that Cuyuni is not a separate river like Weyne and Pomeroon (which last has been occupied by us, and still contains the foundations of Your Honours' fortresses[1]), but an actual part of the River Essequibo itself, which is divided into three arms about 8 to 10 miles above Fort Zeelandia, and about one long cannon shot below Fort Kijkoveral, and to each of which the Indians give a separate name—the first Cuyuni, the second Massaruni (in which is Kijkoveral), and the third Essequibo—the principal stream below this division being called Essequibo but Araunama by the Arawaks, the aborigines of this country.

Although I do not doubt that YY. HH. will now have received the map compiled by M. d'Anville, I have in order to make the matter clear, copied that part of the map which relates to our possessions, and filled in with much precision as possible the sites of Your Honours' plantation of "Duynenburg," situated partly in Essequibo and partly in Cuyuni. In Cuyuni I have marked Your Honours' coffee and indigo plantations, the dwellings of the half-free creoles (to which the Spaniards are close), the Blue Mountains, and the Post which was, together with the sites of Your Honours' three others in Maroco, Maykouny, and Arinda, up in Essequibo.

This copy I have the honour to inclose[2].

I am well aware, YY. HH., that to undertake acts of reprisal a distinct order from the Sovereign is needed, and I should be very careful not to take upon myself anything of the kind. Although the appearance

[1] Concerning the early settlements on the Pomeroon, see pp. 20–21.

[2] It was, however, forgotten, and not really sent (see p. 382).

threat is contained in my letter to the Commandant of Orinoco, it has never entered my head to proceed to such extremities, because even in a case of the utmost emergency I should shudder to employ the cruelties indulged in by the Carib nation. I only wished to show the Commandant what we could do if we were forced to it, and His Honour is well aware that what I told him is the truth.

.O. 471/3

July 31, 1760.

xtract)

Having had the honour to write to YY. HH. circum- by "Het Essequebo Welvaeren" this will be very more so since it has pleased the Almighty to lay very heavily upon me, for I have had intermittent fever and insufferable headache; this has now to cold fever, but has left me very weak. I did k I should ever have the honour to write to YY. HH. d had already sent to Mr Spoors asking him to command. I am now, thank God, somewhat ut am compelled to take advantage of an interval e to write this letter.

1/8

Demerara, October 24, 1760.

)

e been obliged to send a detachment of four of soldiers to the Post of Maroco as quickly as because the Spaniards are beginning to put their

horns out again. Besides a fine boat belonging to Mr Persik, and used only for trade (to which, therefore, no blame attaches), they have also taken five canoes belonging to this Colony which were engaged in salting; on their way back they also took some canoes on this side of Barima, and thus within the Honourable Company's territory[1]. Amongst these was the canoe of "Aechter kerke" and that of "Duynenburg"—a brand new one out on its first journey. They also threatened to deal with the Post in Maroco ere long in the same way as they had done with that in Cuyuni. I have given the Postholder instructions that in case such a thing should happen he was to defend the Post with his subordinate Indians to the last man, and I also made the necessary arrangements for an effectual defence.

To what will this lead, YY. HH.? If such violence are not stopped, what will the results be? River Cuyuni is still unguarded, and presents an open to fugitive slaves. I have not yet re-established myself there, always hoping that the matter might receive attention in Europe. I could not act in the matter without violence, and this I would not do without special

It being presumed that the taking of the boat was really the work of the Spaniards who came up the river with tobacco and other commodities, I have, at the

[1] The Company's reply to this was dated *March 16, 1761*, "The new outrages of the Spaniards in seizing the boat and the five canoes, which were busy salting, have great us; but we could have wished that you had transmitted to stantial and sworn declarations of all this, so that, acting we might have made the necessary remonstrances to General about that matter. We shall still hope to receive the earlier the better, together with the reasons why you everything which has happened on this side of Barima deemed to have occurred on territory of the Company; in when we shall have examined all this, we may take further as to what it behoves us to do in this matter."

of Mr Spoors, supported by the principal inhabitants, sent in order to the Post to let no Spaniards pass this way on any account whatever, except a single one who might be the bearer of letters from the Government.

. . . . . .

I have for a long time had the intention to write to YY. HH. regarding the old decrepit slaves on Your Honours' plantations, but the matter has repeatedly slipped from my memory by reason of the various things that crop up; I will now, whilst I think of it, take the liberty of alluding briefly to it.

The linen, hats, caps and other things which YY. HH. are good enough to send each year are just sufficient, and only barely so, to give the able-bodied slaves their annual issue according to custom, so that the old ones get nothing

Is it not indeed hard, Your Honours, that these old people (whose number is fairly large), having spent their younger years in working for the Honble. Co., should, when they have grown old and weak, be driven, like old horses (as it were), naked and uncared for, from pillar to post? Of rations too they have no share and are obliged to live upon the mercy of their children and friends, who have not too much themselves. I am convinced that YY. HH. are unaware of this, for I am sure Your Honours' Christian spirit would not tolerate such a state of things, and I doubt not that YY. HH. will give the matter gracious consideration.

Manager Munk (and he is the only one who has pity upon them) does sometimes sell a hogshead of bread, when he can spare it, for thirty or forty ells of Osnaburgh linen, which he then divides among those old folks, but that does not nearly suffice.

It is true that it would cost the Honble. Co. something more annually, but I doubt not that the blessing of the

Lord, Who never leaves good deeds unrewarded, would richly repay that.

P.R.O. 471/7

Demerara, November 20, 1760.

(Extract)

Mr G. Clarke, Sen., has arrived here from Barbados after a voyage of four weeks with a very big vessel which is computed to hold about a thousand hogsheads of sugar. It was his intention to load the vessel here, if possible, and send it to Zeeland, but it having been represented to him that "Het Loo" was hourly expected and that it was impossible to load two such big vessels at once he changed his mind and is sending the ship to Philadelphia, at which I am very pleased.

The aforesaid gentleman has asked my permission to have a church built at his own cost at the spot marked out for a village, and as I have granted it the work will be commenced at once. I shall have some houses built there too, so that the work will soon be in full swing. Their Honour being also very desirous of having a road made from here to Essequibo and having offered to contribute 400 guilders towards it this matter too, which has been long upon the *tapis*, will be put into execution.

P.R.O. 471/11

December 17, 1760.

(Extract)

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Having but recently had the honour of writing to YY. HH. circumstantially by "De Jonge Abraham," Capt. R. Robberts, which left Demerara on the 23rd November last, I have on this occasion very little to report worthy of Your Honours' attention.

Immediately after the departure of the said vessel I set ut for Essequibo and had a very bad voyage, the waves, ashing over the boat several times, leaving me wet through om head to foot and sitting up to my knees in water; fter having been nine hours under way (though the urney is generally performed in four) I reached Mr teward's plantation "Zorgvliet," where I changed into ry clothes.

A warship having arrived to fetch Mr Clarke[1] he is on e point of departure and is coming to dine with me morrow and say good-bye. All the gentlemen with h, including even the captain[2] of the warship, are emely pleased with Demerara and are all desirous uying or laying out plantations there. They have ed me earnestly to beg YY. HH. to send a preacher emerara who shall, if possible, be acquainted with h and English[3], since the English are in the majority ery many respectable people are about to establish elves there.

pon my return from Demerara I found Mr Spoors r and free from fever, but I fear it will be some time e he is restored to perfect health, for in my opinion far from being as he should be. He set out for his tation yesterday.

The fever epidemic is now on the wane with the nning of the rainy season and very few have died ugh it; of the whites I know of none other than the e of Mr J. van Roden.

The pain in my right shoulder is as great as ever and journey from Demerara has not done it much good; an write only with great trouble and at intervals, which very annoying, as I must write almost daily, and my

[1] Cf. p. 378.

[2] Captain Robert Douglas (see p. 391).

[3] This question had already been mooted in *1753* (see p. 292).

son-in-law, the Commandant[1], who assists me a great dea
has had to stay in Demerara to measure some plantation
and to mark the village boundaries, as Mr Clarke is pushin
that matter forward.

The coffee crop in Demerara is exceptionally good th
year and far beyond expectations; there will be a yield
no less than double the estimated quantity, so that if th
weather permits of the cleaning "Het Loo" will take
considerable shipment.

That vessel is anxiously awaited; there are no sh
arriving from North America, for most of them fall i
the hands of the French, so that there is a dearth
everything in the Colony. The last cod was sold s
months ago at sixpence per pound and a barrel of blu
containing a little over half an awm[2], at ninety-six guil
the fishery, too, being now stopped by the Spaniards
hardly knows which way to turn to find food for the s

P.R.O. 471/19

March 18, 1761.

(Extracts)

The vessels "Het Loo" and "Essequebo Welvae
which set out from Zeeland together but were not wi
sight of each other the whole voyage, anchored off De
rara on the same day after a favourable passage
subsequently entered that river, since in the pilot's opin
they were both too fully laden to come in here.

The simultaneous arrival of those two big ships
probably give rise to some difficulty in loading them,

[1] van Bercheyck, Commander (not Commandant) of Demer
(see p. 335); Storm frequently confounds the two titles. His secc
daughter was not married to Commandant Bakker until *1766*.

[2] An awm was equal to about 40 gallons.

think there will be cargo enough to get them both off in ue time.

. . . . .

The letters to the Courts not yet being opened I will y nothing of the proposed mill on the "Duynenburg" antation, except that YY. HH. would not be the first in e Colony to erect a windmill, one having been put up ready long since upon the plantation "Nieuw Walcheren"; was demolished, not because it was of no use, but because Clarke removed the whole plantation to Demerara, ving been impelled to this through the ill condition of soil. It is now called "Het Loo" there and has a r-mill, since, being situated too far up the river, a mill would not work; Mr Daniel Steward has, how- now erected a windmill upon his plantation "Dundee." should indeed have been careful about recommending a mill to YY. HH. if I had not seen and examined and was morally convinced that they yielded good s and were more advantageous than others.

perceive, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, that ough I have now had the honour to serve the Honble. with all possible fidelity, zeal and attention for already e than twenty-three years and am the oldest in mand in Your Honours' service or that of private panies, I am not yet regarded as being what I have ays tried to be, namely (and with modesty be it said), e most faithful and zealous servant of the Company, who s never from selfish or other motives lost sight of the ue interest and welfare of the Honble. Co. and the olony.

The approval of my efforts and conduct, which YY. HH. re pleased to accord me, is certainly the greatest honour t which I can aim and for which my deepest gratitude is ue and shall all my life be shown, but it is nevertheless ard for an honest man who does all in his power to treat

everyone in a friendly and propitious manner and give himself so much trouble to bring the Colony into flourishing condition to find that his secret and undeserve enemies, whom he has endeavoured to win over by a gentle means, do all in their power to blacken him secret and crafty ways, nay, even to ruin him, if the could. Of this I have, alas! but all too many proofs my private letters, so that I may justly and with pa repeat what I already said some years ago:—

Et Liber Pater Castorque Polluxque
Post ingentia facta, &c.
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem speratum meri

I shall, however, not allow myself to be frightene these things but ride the waves and make straight fo goal, doing my duty as long as the Almighty is pleas grant me strength, following up my enemies (who, th hidden, are perfectly well known to me) in order to r them good for evil, and leaving the issue to Him said, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay[2]."

. . . . .

I learn with great surprise from Your Honours' highly esteemed missive that YY. HH. had not rece the small copy which I had taken of M. d'Anville's m I immediately went through my drawings and foun amongst them. I enclose the map herein and hum beg YY. HH. to pardon this oversight, which I am s YY. HH. will do, considering that I can never close despatches home except at the moment of the skippe departure, having always to wait for the cargo-lists a bills of lading. At that moment, too, my house is general full of people bringing their letters for the bag and who ha the wretched habit of choosing that moment to talk abo

[1] Cf. p. 216. [2] Rom. xii. 19.
[3] See pp. 374 and 397.

eir business, so that in this way something can easily be rgotten.

. . . . . .

I am frequently coerced into taking a course which I lly believe to be disadvantageous, and into which I am rced because I do not want to have seven-eighths of the olony against me

This is the case with the order I gave last year to allow more Spaniards to come up the river, for this measure lly appears to me to be injurious to our interests.

I have always imagined that it was best for our inhabi-s to send few or no boats to Orinoco, and so compel paniards to come here with their merchandize; in this our people would not be exposed to the least danger, the arrangement began to work very well. But the isy of those who had been accustomed to have that in their own hands caused many remarks to be made ning the permission given the Spaniards, and brought any remonstrances. Seeing that I took no notice of is, and merely answered that the trade was free, and t was only right that all the colonists should be able to by it, they brought things to such a pass that, just e the arrival of R. Robberts, a Petition was laid before Court in the name of the colonists, asking, amongst r things, that the permission should be withdrawn n the Spaniards, and that they should be forbidden come here.

Finally, on receiving in Demerara a despatch from Mr ors, which I have the honour to inclose, I was obliged bring myself to issue the desired orders, which still hold od.

P.R.O. 471/20

May 28, 1761.

(Extracts)

My Lords,

On the 18th March last I had the honour write YY. HH. per the brigantine "Demerary Welvaere which I trust arrived safely. With the same vessel I h the honour to send a copy of the map of this coast, wh I had forgotten to inclose in my previous letter. I h the matter concerning Cuyuni will be brought to a ha issue, because it is really of the greatest importance fo Honourable Company. As the case appears to me, can be no dispute about it with the Court of Spa being only too clear and evident that the Post not stood upon the Honourable Company's territory, bu that territory extends much farther.

I am informed by the Indians that messengers a constantly being sent to that river evidently to asc whether we are re-establishing the Post, in which case would probably again make a raid upon the same.

. . . . .

Concerning my pains to give the English govern as far as possible no reasons for complaint I have, Honours, always been of opinion that in these cri times and circumstances it was better to be somewhat careful than somewhat too careless, having, neverthel always endeavoured to see that no private individ suffered loss and that our own commerce was not in way impeded. I can, however, not be blamed for try to cover myself as far as possible in matters which doubtful. It would be most disagreeable to me to see name figuring in any complaint made to Their Hi Mightinesses, and I remember as if it were but yesterd

what manner I heard Milord Holderness[1] speak of the
n Commander of St Eustatius, when, being in The
gue in the year 1751, I had the honour of dining
ether with his lordship at the house of the Heer van
on en Pendrecht[2].

. . . . . .

In Demerara everything is, thank God, going on
sperously, and the plantations in that river are doing
. Whilst I am speaking of that river, I feel it my duty
iggest to YY. HH. that since the coffee plantations there
beginning to make good yields, and the cocoa crop is
very good, it will soon be time for YY. HH. to recall
ermission kindly given some years ago to sell these
cts to strangers (on payment of certain dues). There
eat difference between those times and now. At the
f the concession these products were merely extras
no importance, but enabled the poor to buy what
quired from the English. Your Honours' favour
n of very great service, but since these things are
a fair way to become some of our chief products,

---

bert D'Arcy, fourth Earl of Holderness (*1718–1778*) was edu-
Westminster School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. In *1741*
me one of the lords of the King's bedchamber and in that
y attended George II to Hanover in *1743*, and was present
im at the battle of Dettingen. In *May, 1749*, he became
r plenipotentiary at The Hague and in *May, 1751*, was re-
to England, succeeding the Duke of Bedford as Secretary of
for the southern department in Henry Pelham's ministry, and
g the same post in that of the Duke of Newcastle. Holderness
the political position to which he attained rather to his rank
oreign connections than to any great intellectual qualities. He
ied in *1742*, Mary, the daughter of Francis Doublet, a member
e States of Holland. The Duke of Newcastle wrote of him to his
er: "He is universally loved and esteemed, almost by all parties,
olland....He has no pride about him, though a D'Arcy." *Dict. of Biog.* vol. v. *1908*.

Count William Bentinck, Heer van Rhoon en Pendrecht (see 376).

and apparently of very great importance, it would not at all reasonable to allow strangers to profit by them, a so damage the shipping of Zeeland.

As soon as there is a big fall in sugar it will also necessary to impose a duty upon kiltum[1], because English planters are sure to take that in hand at once. will, however, be impossible to carry out this measure proper manner in Demerara unless YY. HH. be pleased increase the number of the garrison there to about a d soldiers, so that the captains may be compelled to s their passports to the harbour-master in order that we know whether they have paid their dues. At the p time they treat the matter as a joke; not long a English captain named Metcalfe, after having con his business, left the river without a passport and w having paid a penny of the dues, letting the sentinels s much as they liked. The two soldiers there could not him from going, and I could not send mo.e becaus only seventeen more privates here, of whom but v remain when there is some patrol to be sent out, frequently been the case lately. At the present n I have sent one out to Wayni in search of a party of fu

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P.R.O. 471/26

Demerara, May 29, 176

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

It has pleased Almighty God, in accord with His eternal and immutable decree and to my and heartfelt grief, to take from this world to His Et

[1] Kiltum occurs only in Storm's despatches. It is clearly "Kill-devil" was the original name given in Barbados to the drink; doubtless the Dutch took it thence (cf. Darnell Dav *Timehri, 1885*, vol. iv. p. 76).

ingdom, very suddenly and after a few days' illness, my dest son, Jonathan Samuel Storm van 's Gravesande[1], mmander of the River Demerara, at the age of 34 years; this great loss to me I have considered it my duty to orm YY. HH.

YY. HH. can very well imagine how severely this blow, ning so shortly after the loss of my dear wife, must fall on me. I received these sad tidings after finishing my er to YY. HH. and thirty-six hours before closing the er-bag in Essequibo, whereupon I immediately set out Demerara, requesting Mr Secretary Spoors to enclose apers which were not yet ready in his letter to YY. HH. ing quite impossible for the River Demerara to be ut a chief the Court of Policy resolved to bestow the and provisionally and until Your Honours' further upon the Commandant, Laurens Lodewijk van eyck[2]. I take the liberty of humbly requesting . to be pleased to favour Your Honours' old servant towing that office upon the aforesaid Commandant. d YY. HH. be good enough to add this kindness to so other proofs of favour which I have had the good e to enjoy, YY. HH. will impose upon me indelible ide by affording me so great a consolation and a ort in my old age, for I can with truth attest that his viour towards me is equal to that of a son. I can dently pledge my word for it that YY. HH. could not a more faithful and zealous servant and he has more- the good fortune of being liked by all the burghers of nerara to such a degree that if the choice were left to n it would undoubtedly, by a large majority, fall upon him. Expecting Capt. Spanjaerd every moment to close the er-bag here and having still to get a number of letters ly I shall conclude this by commending myself to

[1] See p. 32. [2] See p. 335.

Your Honours' gracious favour and with the assurance th
I shall always be with the deepest respect and esteem,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble, obedient and sorrowing
servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.R.O. 471/44

August 12, 1761.

(Extract)

The sworn depositions for which YY. HH. ask concer
the canoes captured by the Spaniards cannot possib
made out, especially those relating to the canoes
were out salting, and which were consequently
contrary to all right and reason. On those canoes
were no whites; there was only one negro, and th
were free Indians. With regard to the others, the
that were captured in them are prisoners in Orino
are in the fortress there, and it will possibly be son
before they are released.

After taking everything out of the Company's ca
"Aechtekerke" they let it go, and it came home, b
have kept the fine new canoe belonging to the pla
"Duynenburg." The latter having been captured thi
of Barima, I am of opinion that it was captured upo
Honourable Company's territory, for, although ther
no positive proofs to be found here, such has always
so considered by the oldest settlers, as also by all the
Indians. Amongst the latter I have spoken with
very old Caribs, who told me that they remember the
when the Honourable Company had a Post in Barima
the reestablishment of which they had often asked, in o
that they might be relieved from the annoyance of

[1] See p. 19.

whilst I was in Europe he could indeed again [illegible] for that single meeting.

Were I honoured with positive orders from YY [illegible] reside in Demerara for a certain time each year (as lo[illegible] as short as YY. HH. should deem fit) there would be [illegible] more to say upon the matter and the inhabitants there would be greatly pleased. If anything of importance occurred I could always be at the Fort in twenty-four hours and when the road is finished in about eight. It is true that those periods would be irksome and very inconvenient for Mr Secretary Spoors if at such times he were compelled to live with his family at the Fort, but as he can get there from his plantation in ten minutes, and since either the Commandant or Assistant Loof is always there, that would not be necessary, because at a preconcerted signal he could be at the Fort immediately.

Captain Douglas[1] is very well pleased with Demerara

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[1] Captain Robert Douglas, a brother of the British admiral mentioned in the note following this, had (according to Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 225) married a Dutch lady, and, though still in the English navy (cf. p. 379), evidently contemplated becoming a Demerara colonist. From the series of letters described on p. 448 (and which may be consulted in *Timehri*, vol. ii. New Series, *1888*) we learn that he was in Zeeland in *1762* with Gedney Clarke, Jr. (cf. p. 42), and in correspondence with Count William Bentinck (cf. p. 276), introducing the former to the latter, the patron of Demerara. Upon the outbreak of the serious slave rising in Berbice in *1763* (see pp. 415 *et seq.*) and when a relief corps was being raised in the Netherlands Gedney Clarke, Jr., wrote to Bentinck (*July, 1763*) "We should be all rejoiced to have Capt. Douglas command the troops sent to Demerara as he is a man of great prudence and steadiness and one fit to govern both Dutch and English." But in *August* Bentinck replied, "Capt. Douglas goes on the expedition as Lieutenant-Colonel. He is the second person." The command was given to Colonel Jan Marius de Salve.

Douglas (says Netscher, *loc. cit.*) was a particular *protégé* and friend of the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, Field-Marshal commanding the troops of the United Provinces and Guardian of the youthful Hereditary Stadholder Prince William V after the death of the Gouvernante Anna in *1759*, and during his stay in Berbice

plantation which his brother bought for him; to Barbados at the earliest opportunity to speak rother, the Admiral[1], and thence back to Zeeland h his family. I have no doubt he will on his arrival e the honour of giving YY. HH. a verbal and circumstantial account of the state of these Colonies.

Everything in the upper part of the river is again in a state of upset, the people who live there bringing their best goods down the stream. This is because a party of Spaniards and Spanish Indians in Cuyuni have been down to the lowest fall, where Your Honours' indigo plantation is situated, driving all the Indians thence, and even, it is said, having killed several. The Indians sent in complaint upon complaint. I fear that bloodshed and murder will come of this, because, if they come below the fall, the inhabitants will surely shoot upon them, and not allow them to approach, and what will the consequences of that be? We leave those people in peace. So long as I have had the honour of holding the command here I have embraced every opportunity of preventing the Indians from annoying them, and in this I have been fairly successful. Why cannot they leave us in peace? It is really insupportable how, contrary to the law of nature and the

---

addressed to the Duke in Holland a series of reports, written in French and English, now in the *Koninklijk Huisarchief*.

[1] Douglas (Sir James), Admiral; b. *1703*, d. *1787*, son of George Douglas of Friarshaw, Roxburghshire. Promoted to the rank of captain in *1744*, he was in *1756* a member of the court-martial which tried and condemned Admiral Byng. In *1760* he was appointed commodore and commander-in-chief on the Leeward Islands station, and in *1761* his squadron captured the island of Dominica. In *1762* he was superseded by Rear-Admiral Rodney, under whom he served as second in command at the reduction of Martinique, and was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral before the end of that year. Promoted to be vice-admiral in *1770*, he was commander-in-chief at Portsmouth for three years from *1773* and attained the rank of admiral in *1778*. He was created a baronet in *1786*.

right of nations, they first come and attack our prisoners, and ill-treat the people in such a way Postholder's assistant has died from it, burn dow house and all it contained, and now still constantly co and disturb us.

It is no use complaining because the Commandant, Don Juan Valdéz, in Orinoco, whilst sending back the letter unopened[1] which I had requested the Commandant to write to him, has written me to say that he is forbidden to enter into any written correspondence concerning the matter, and that we must address ourselves to the Court at Madrid.

If I were permitted, YY. HH., to do as they are doing, I would risk my old head once more, and make them pay doubly for the annoyance they are causing us.

P.R.O. 471/55

December 10, 1761.

(Extract)

Having already concluded my letter to YY. HH. by this vessel I receive from Barbados, by a small boat containing not more than four men, a letter from Sir J. Douglas[2], Commander of His Britannic Majesty's squadron in these seas, which, had it not come too late, would have greatly embarrassed me, since I do not know how I am to act in such matters.

I answered the letter immediately and informed His Honour that the deserters in question having distributed themselves upon various ships had left the Colony, with the exception of one who had sought employment upon the plantation of a colonist named E. Lonke and had died there.

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[1] See p. 367.

[2] See p. 392.

ne honour to send YY. HH. enclosed a copy of with the humble request that it may please . to send me orders what I am to do in similar rrences, feelings here being greatly at variance in the latter.

[Inclosure.]

P.R.O. 471/56

Barbadoes, October 30, 1761.

Sir,

Ten sailors having deserted from his Majestys schooner the Barbadoes when att Demarary, flatter my self that in consequence of the application made to your Exellency, they are already secur'd; if not I shall take it as a particular favour, if your Exellency would give the necessary orders therefore, & keep them in secure confinement till the situation of affairs here permit my sending for them, or till som better opportunity offer than the present one, for bringing them away.

In Return I most chearfully offer you all the assistance in my power, that may in any way tend to the improvement of your infant Colony of Demarary of which it gives me great pleasure to hear such good Reports & which my Brother Capt. Douglas has strongly confirm'd to me; I thank your Exellency for you civilities shown to him, & further recomend him to your protection, when he shall come to settle at Demarary.

I am sorry to tell your Exellency, that many of the Dutch vessells that have been brought into port by my squadron have been seiz'd going into Martinique & the other french Islands, although clear'd out for Demarary; this, I am sensible your Colony is not the least concern'd in; on the contrary if any of them shall meet with the least hardship, upon proper application made, your Exellency will always find me ready & willing to redress the same, & give them all the assistance in my power.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your Exellency's most obedient and most humble servant

JAMES DOUGLAS.

His Exellency Mr Storm van 's Gravesande.

P.R.O. 471/60

January 9, 17[illegible]

(Extracts)

Trade with Orinoco is going on pretty fairly, a number of mules and horses having lately come from there. It is a pity that the mutual jealousy causes the trade so much hindrance. A little while ago a barque and some other small vessels belonging to Mr Persik, being on their way there, fell in with a canoe belonging to Dr B. Struys; the barque opened fire upon the canoe, and compelled it to hang back. The canoe, arriving late, could not get a single mule, and had to take only eleven horses. This causes bad blood, and such behaviour may possibly lead to the ruin of the whole business. I fear that this event may give some trouble to the Court when the barque returns....

The New Year having commenced I have the honour to wish YY. HH. every possible happiness, blessing and good fortune in the course of the same and in a long series of following ones. I hope that the Omnipotent Creator and Ruler of the Universe may shower in full measure upon Your Honours' persons, families and government His dearest blessings, both temporal and spiritual. May He grant YY. HH. unfailing health, perfect peace and prosperity in all Your Honours' undertakings, in a word, all that can be desired by us mortals here in this sublunary and hereafter in His Eternal Realm. These are the honest wishes of him who will ever be with the deepest respect and esteem,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

67

January 18, 1762.

racts)

I have the honour humbly to thank YY. HH. for graciously conferring upon my son-in-law[1] the commandership of Demerara. I trust that by honest zeal and care for Your Honours' service and the welfare of the Colony he will prove worthy of a continuance of Your Honours' favour and protection, and of this, too, I have little doubt....

I had flattered myself that YY. HH. would have been good enough to grant the newly-appointed Commander some increase of salary since now, though raised in rank and importance by Your Honours' favour, he has lost in income, for here he had some emoluments, such as six guilders flag money from every English barque entering, whilst in Demerara there are no emoluments at all or very small ones; there he is moreover compelled to incur more expense, especially when the ordinary meetings are held and his house is full of people.

Your Honours' commands with regard to doubling the rations and provisions for Mr Spoors shall be strictly obeyed. It is always most agreeable and a real pleasure to me to see YY. HH. bestow any favour upon the Company's servants. But I beg that YY. HH. will not take it amiss if I make bold humbly to desire to be informed wherein I have given YY. HH. cause for displeasure, so that I may endeavour to remedy this as far as lies in my power. For, YY. HH., must it not be hard for me to see my fortunes thus reduced without knowing why, when I have had the honour of serving YY. HH. for so long a series of years and have, to the best of my knowledge, always endeavoured to do my duty. From the accompanying list YY. HH. will see

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[1] See p. 335.

that by this new regulation Mr Secretary receives of some provisions double the quantity that I do.

In the despatch of Feb. 9, 1762[1], *Storm returns to the question of his diminished provisions; evidently the increase to the Secretary came out of some remainder that fell to the share of the Director-General.*

P.R.O. 471/69

February 9, 1762.

(Extracts)

I was very glad to see that YY. HH. were pleased with my copy of d'Anville's Map[2]. That map is not only the best, but the only one in which this coast is exactly and truly given, wherefore I did not rest until I had it, having seen the same in the hands of His late Serene Highness, who was kind enough to show it me as soon as it was published in the year 1751. I trust that YY. HH. will not lose sight of the outrage in Cuyuni[3]. That matter is of the utmost importance for many very weighty reasons, and more than any one in Europe could imagine. Neither my true zeal nor the real interest I take in the welfare of the Company or Colony, nor yet my oath and duty will allow me to sit still or to neglect this matter, and even if there were no important reasons which compelled the Honourable Company to take a real interest in the possession of Cuyuni, I cannot see why we should permit the Spaniards to disturb and appropriate our lawful possessions. Have they not land enough of their own, the possession of which is not disputed? Yes, much more than they can or ever will be able to govern.

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[1] The extract is given on p. 53.
[2] See p. 382. [3] See p. 392.

They are not yet quiet, but send detachments from time to time, which come down as far as the lowest fall, close to the dwelling of Your Honours' creoles, by which both the settlers and our Indians are continually being alarmed, and take refuge each time down stream. This is very annoying. They must have great and important reasons to make such attempts to obtain possession of this branch of our river, and I have not the least doubt that such is the case, but I hope, too, that YY. HH. may find a means of stopping them.

. . . . .

As long as the Almighty gives me strength I shall not relax my efforts in looking for and bringing back runaways. I am far too deeply convinced of the important consequences of this matter to let it rest. So long as we have the good fortune to stand well with the Indians (and I shall always try to remain so), and keep them under our protection, so long, I say, we need have no fear, for every possible precaution has been taken along the sea-coast, and no negroes can get away unless the Indians connive at their escape or unless they go over to the Spaniards, which, since the occurrence at Cuyuni, can scarcely be prevented. It is some consolation, however, that those who do go to the Spaniards cannot do us any harm.

. . . . .

Having been requested to furnish the W. I. Co. with a Register similar to that compiled in Berbice Storm, having obtained a copy of the latter, says:—

Wherefore I have compiled a similar (but much more accurate) one of this Colony, which I have the honour to send by this occasion, hoping it will fulfil its aim.

From this Register[1] YY. HH. will be able to see what a

[1] This Register has furnished the data for the following compilation: In *1762* Essequibo had 68 plantations belonging to private planters

small number of slaves there are in this Colony, and that it is really a matter of wonder where all the produce comes from.

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and employing at least (*vide* Storm's sarcastic remarks above) 2571 slaves, and three plantations belonging to the West India Company.

Plantations owned by Englishmen were:—

Name.	Owner.
Schoonhoven	Austin (Thomas)
D'Eensaemheyt	Brownrig (John)
Nieuw Walcheren	Clarke (Gedney) Sr.
De Vriendschap	Croydon (William)
D'Adventuur	Fitzpatrick (Edward)
Nieuw Antigoa	Leary (Cornelius)
Oranjestein	Millikin (James)
Dundee	Stewart (Daniel)

In the same year Demerara had 93 plantations, employing 1648 slaves, and all in the hands of private planters. Here no fewer than 34, or over a third, were owned by Englishmen.

Name.	Owner.
Spring Garden	Austin (Thomas)
Dalgin Lucky Hit	Bermingham (John)
—*	Calloway (Joseph)
Garden of Eden	Carter (Samuel)
Blenheim	Clarke (Francis)
De Vriendschap	Clarke (Gedney) Sr.
Hampton Court Het Loo Golden Grove	Clarke (Gedney) Jr.
York	Clarke (Peter)
Richmond	Clarke (William)
De Herstelling	Cox (John)
Irish Hope	Dally (Richard Bass)
Weilburg	Douglas (Sir James) & Co.
—	Fitzpatrick (Edward)
Fitz Hope	Fitzpatrick (John) & Co.
Little Barbados	Floyd (Samuel)
Eudokia	Hall (Elizabeth)
Peter's Hall	Halley (Peter)
The Retrieve	Knott (Isaac)
—	Maynard (John)
Tweedside	Nichols (Benjamin)
—	Nichols (Edward)

* In several instances the name of the plantation (possibly still unworked) omitted.

Whether the returns of the slaves are properly and truly made out by the settlers there is great reason to doubt,

Name.	Owner.
The Bell	Roberts (William)
Donoon	Rowan (John)
Glasgow	Sampson (Ralph)
Adventure	Simons (Thomas)
The Friendship	Simmons (John)
Wismar	Somersall (Anthony)
Warrapanna	Sutton (John)
John Trewern's Folly	Thomas (John)
Philanthropia	Toppin (William)
Diamond	Welsh (Samuel)

For a period covering eight years of Storm's administration we have extant these "Registers" of Essequibo and Demerara, laboriously compiled in his own handwriting—a valuable record of his methodical care. From the Register for *1769*, the latest of the series, we find that there were

in Essequibo 92 plantations with 3986 slaves
in Demerara 206 „ „ 5967 „

the number of plantations in Demerara owned by English being 56.

It is probable that many of the Dutch plantations in Demerara were either not occupied or left in the hands of English attorneys, as Storm writes (p. 379) of an English-speaking majority.

These Registers, which the descendants of planters established in the Colony at the date of their compilation may desire to consult, are contained in the following volumes.

1762 and 1763	in P.R.O.	471	(Documents 70 and 161)
1764 and 1765	„	472	(„ 83 „ 139)
1766	„	473	(„ 38)
1767 and 1768	„	474	(„ 83 and 183)
1769	„	475	(„ 19)

Whilst this work was in the press we were informed by the Public Record Office that it had been necessary to re-number all the volumes described on pp. 5 and 6, including the above-mentioned, but the following key to the eleven volumes that contain Storm's despatches was very courteously furnished us.

Old Designation.	New Designation.
C.O. Transmissions Vol. 466	C.O. 116 N°. 28
„ 467	„ 29
„ 468	„ 30
„ 469	„ 31
„ 470	„ 32
„ 471	„ 33
„ 472	„ 34
„ 473	„ 35
„ 474	„ 36
„ 475	„ 37
„ 476	„ 38

because there are many who have an elastic conscience, or probably none at all.

P.R.O. 471/82

April 3, 1762.

(Extract)

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

It is not without great difficulty and many breaks that I have the honour to write this letter, by reason of incessant pains in my shoulders, which, in the present exceptionally severe drought, overpower me to such an extent that I fear, not without reason, I may lose all power to write. Wherefore, too, I commence this letter early, the vessel having departed but three days ago for Demerara, where it must lie for four weeks.

Chagrin, coming on top of this, weakens me terribly, although it never did have a great hold upon me, for I was taught from my youth upwards to submit with resignation to the will of the Most High; but one cannot entirely divest oneself of human nature, perfect satisfaction being laid aside for a future life. For, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, when I put forth my utmost endeavours to further the interests of the Honourable Company and the Colony (relegating all my own to the background), when I am for ever, night and day, contriving how to keep all things in good order, and then find that all is in vain and gets daily more impracticable—how very painful this must be to me YY. HH. can easily imagine.

If I were to take matters lightly and not insist upon what was really for the best, in the idea that it would well serve my time (as has often been suggested to me by

others) I could be easy in my mind, but that is impossible for me to do, for as long as I live or have the honour to serve the Honourable Company I neither shall nor can deviate from my duty.

YY. HH. will probably ask the reason of this long prologue, but I hope to have the honour to explain it.

Some years ago it pleased YY. HH. considerably to reduce the number of slaves belonging to the Fort here, although there were really too few than too many, as I had the honour to inform YY. HH. on several occasions[1]. Since then most of the creoles have died too, and although the foreman does all that is in human power to do, he cannot get done what is necessary. We have seven negro carpenters and four masons—no more. Of the carpenters one is a macroon[2], and the masons have to work fully eight months in the year on the three plantations.

The Fort has now become so dilapidated that the topmost beams of the redoubt have rotted, and, although propped up by supports, run great danger of coming down. The moats are choked up, the sluice out of order, and of the seven- or eight-and-forty pieces of ordnance only about six have gun-carriages, the rest lying on the ground. The guard-house is almost an utter ruin.

The church, being entirely of stone, is in good condition, but the roof has almost disappeared, and when the rain comes the building will be untenantable.

My house is in an even worse condition—the roof has rotted away, the slabs on which it rests have entirely disappeared and it is a marvel that it is still standing, for in the front hall I have had half the beams sawn away to diminish the weight and only by continual repairing is it kept upright. The galley is open on every side and

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[1] In *1744* (see pp. 212, 213), in *1752* (see p. 282) and *1755* (see p. 328).
[2] Decrepit.

almost without a roof. When the house begins to fall in I shall not know where to go.

The Secretariat is in pretty much the same condition and quite as bad as my house. The Honourable Company's warehouse is also in absolute need of a new roof. The new house for the expected preacher is nearly finished but has no galley or storehouse yet, and although the house of the deceased ship's carpenter (which was on the point of tumbling in) and the beams from my house were used, eight weeks, with all the men working, were spent in building it.

The house-carpenter's dwelling is in so bad a state that it is a wonder it does not fall in.

We have no white workmen left, the only one being Arnoud Vermeere, who is too old and decrepit to do anything.

If YY. HH. will be good enough to examine the Berbice register it will be seen that the number of employees there is a good deal larger, and I am informed that there are far above a hundred slaves at the Fort. I submitted all this to Mr Spoors when he was here last week to close the letter-bag of "De Demerary Planter," and he replied that when the Honble. Co.'s canoes took sugar to Demerara he would order them to bring back some trouille[1] for the church, as being absolutely necessary. This is all very well, but how far will it go?

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[1] The word, of French origin, employed by Storm, is now written "troolie" in the Colony.

"Each gigantic undivided leaf of the troolie palm (*Manicaria saccifera*) is really a shelter in itself; and a few of these laid, without further preparation, so as to overlap like tiles, make a most perfect roof." (im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana, 1883*, p. 209.)

P.R.O. 471/128

August 28, 1762.

(Extract)

The Postholder of Maroco has come up stream, and has reported to me that he has been warned on three different occasions by the Warouws[1] of Trinidad that it is the intention of the Spaniards to make a raid upon that Post, and has asked for reinforcements.

The garrison being extraordinarily weak, and finding myself compelled to send at least eight men to Demerary, I was unable to give him any men, but instructed him to engage one or two mulattoes for three months at soldiers' wages if he could get them, telling him that I would provide them with arms and ammunition; in such cases these people are better than soldiers, for they can make their way through the bush and speak the Indian languages.

The Indians round the Post are continually asking for guns and cutlasses; as it is impossible to spare these now I am compelled to ask YY. HH. to send me a parcel of good guns and cutlasses. These will be urgently required, especially if the piracies continue, in which case we shall be obliged to employ the Carib nation, who cannot or will not fight without guns[2].

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[1] See p. 343.

[2] The Directors' reply, dated *Nov. 29, 1762*, ran :—

"We approve of your having authorized the Postholder in Moruca to engage one or two mulattoes for two to four months at soldier's pay. We also send you herewith fifty muskets and cutlasses, in order if need be to arm therewith the natives for the defence of the Colony; moreover, you receive by this ship eight men for the reinforcement of the garrison." See also p. 86 as to the policy.

P.R.O. 471/130

August 29, 1762.

(Extract)

The Indians have also informed me that the Spaniards up in Cuyuni are engaged in building boats. What can all these things mean, YY. HH.? I fear that this may lead to the entire ruin of the Colony (which God forbid) unless vigorous measures are taken. Our forbearance in the matter of Cuyuni makes them bolder and bolder. At the time of that occurrence the Caribs were full of courage and ready for all kinds of undertaking; now they are all driven away from there and have retired right up into Essequibo.

P.R.O. 471/150

November 6, 1762.

(Extracts)

On the 11th September the Carib nation unexpectedly sent messengers down the river, inquiring how matters stood with the Spaniards, saying that they would certainly not allow the latter to obtain a footing here, and that they were ready to aid us with all their might.

I answered them that there was no great danger yet, it being only one small pirate who was causing this commotion, but I requested them to be good enough to keep their arms and boats ready to come down at the least warning, and that in such an event we would provide them with powder and shot. This they accepted and promised.

. . . . .

Just after noon on the 10th of September we had a sudden and violent whirlwind that carried off the topmost part of the roofs of most of the houses here. Although it was raining very hard I was obliged to flee from the house

with my children, fearing it would fall in, for it has now got into such a state as to be beyond repair; I shall therefore be compelled *nolens volens* to move out of it in about four weeks' time, to inhabit one of the small houses, and to store my belongings here and there while I have the old house pulled down and re-built. I have put off doing so until the very last moment and cannot remain in it any longer without actual danger to life, especially in the windy season, which begins at the end of November.

P.R.O. 471/138

December 13, 1762.

(Extract)

It is impossible for me to answer Your Honours' letters circumstantially now, both on account of the short time that is left and of my having moved into another house where everything lies upside down and I can scarcely turn, for it is very small, consisting only of two rooms twenty feet square and a vestibule. Your Honours' letters, too, requiring a detailed reply I shall postpone the same until the departure of "De Gezusters" or of the "Spreeuwenburg" if the latter goes first, as I believe it will.

Upon that of the 7th October I shall however have the honour to reply briefly that I am bitterly grieved to hear of Your Honours' displeasure concerning the yields of Your Honours' plantations, the more so since YY. HH. are perfectly justified therein. But what am I to say, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs? I am in great difficulties respecting the matter and it has given me many an anxious hour. It is true, YY. HH., the Company's plantations should, accidents excluded, yield annually at least 300 hogsheads of sugar each—that is, taking one with the other, for they are by far not equal either in slaves or in the quality of

the soil. But my authority in these matters is of so little weight and my advice so little valued that I can very easily answer before God and man for my share of the blame. But I will not dilate upon that now[1].

P.R.O. 471/158

February 22, 1763.

(Extracts)

The arrival here of the Rev. I. Lingius was a great pleasure to everyone and we have every reason to be most grateful to YY. HH. for the good care taken on behalf of this Colony in the choice of such a pastor; not only is he, as far as can be judged at present, more than worthy of the post, but he will be respected and beloved by all and his service will, with the Lord's blessing, bear good fruit. I must say that not only was I, but all the colonists were greatly prepossessed by the reverend gentleman, a proof of which YY. HH. will see in the proposal and petition to be laid before YY. HH. on behalf of the Councillors asking that the pastor may be enabled to pay with due decorum the pastoral visits before Holy Communion and to perform other of his offices without laying any burden upon the Honble. Co. This petition I take the liberty of earnestly commending to YY. HH. as a matter of necessity and beg for a favourable reply.

The Rev. H. van Grevenbroek, our old and much respected pastor, took leave of his congregation on January 9 with the words of the Apostle Paul, chap. 3, verse 12:— "Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God."

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[1] Storm exculpates himself more amply in the despatch of *Feb. 22, 1763*, pp. 408–412.

In the afternoon of the same day the Rev. Mr Lingius (after having been installed by his colleague in the morning) entered upon his sacred duties by expounding the words of Nehemiah, chap. 2, the middle portion of the 20th verse:— "The God of Heaven, He will prosper us; therefore we, His servants, will arise and build."

Both of these texts (especially the latter) were expounded in excellent, soul-stirring and very eloquent words before a numerous gathering, the church being very full, as I had announced the occasion some time before in both rivers....

Do YY. HH. not think that we might without exercising the least violence, again take possession of the Post in Cuyuni, and place a subaltern officer there with ten or twelve men as a guard, against which I do not think the Spaniards would dare to undertake anything? I take the liberty of recommending this to Your Honours' serious consideration as a matter of great importance both for the Honourable Company and for the Colony, several slaves having already run away in that direction, and the Colony lying open on that side to all Spanish undertakings.

. . . . .

Be pleased not to take it amiss, YY. HH., if, in defence of my well-grounded and legitimate complaints concerning the dilapidated state of all the buildings and works here, I dilate somewhat in answering a paragraph of Your Honours' highly esteemed letter.

YY. HH. are pleased to say, "Even if there had been no negro carpenter at the Fort for years it could not be in a worse condition than it is now. It is true that they were reduced to five at the great reform but formerly not only were the present Fort and Kijkoveral kept up with five, but, etc." What answer am I to make to this, YY. HH.? The deep respect I owe YY. HH., of which I hope never to lose a tittle, would constrain me to remain silent and to

say naught were I not on the other hand impelled to defend myself before YY. HH. as my masters, and masters to whom I owe eternal gratitude for the manifold benefits I have received—to answer for my conduct and to expose clearly and plainly to YY. HH. the error (be it said with due respect) in the above-quoted words.

I know very well (although I have been unable to obtain the inventories of that period, often as I have asked for them) that when I arrived in this country in the year 1738 there were many more than twenty negroes at the Fort; besides these there were fully fifteen or sixteen good creole carpenters, half of which number, being half-free, always worked at the Fort. The number of negroes did not increase, but remained much about the same until the year 1753. Upon my return from Europe there were at the Fort, according to the inventory, and in addition to the smiths (who are always reckoned apart), twenty-six negro artizans, including the bomba[1] and the foreman's boy. The creoles decreased steadily and there are now not more than three who can do carpenters' work.

(The inventory given me after writing the above shows that there were more slaves than I have enumerated; the number of creoles is correct.)

Be pleased, YY. HH., to consider also that at that time there were here, at Fort Zeelandia, 20 negroes belonging to the colonists and three from each of Your Honours' plantations—therefore 32 altogether—who built all the houses, &c., here (for nothing was being done at the Fort), as was fully brought home to YY. HH. by reason of the pilfering that went on and the complaints that were then being made.

The 26 slaves that were at the Fort in the years 1752 and 1753 were always reinforced by three from each plan-

[1] Foreman.

tation, therefore by nine, and still it was only with great difficulty that the work was got through.

In addition to all this my predecessor had the privilege of sending to the plantations for as many men as he pleased whenever there was anything extra to be done.

It has always been an iron law to me, and especially since my return from Europe, to carry out Your Honours' commands strictly and literally, without deviating or allowing the least deviation therefrom except on extraordinary occasions when there was *periculum in mora*, and whereupon I have then had the honour of reporting to YY. HH. at the first opportunity. I have therefore, since the time when YY. HH. were pleased to institute the great reform[1], never borrowed a single slave from the plantations, except once (I believe) in the year 1761, when, and even that at the instance of Mr Spoors, I had some sent for in order to clean out the moats of the Fort, which were choked up, and at which work they were not quite a fortnight.

I took great care that for household work not a single slave more should be employed than YY. HH. allowed—indeed, fewer, if possible, for the Commander has only one instead of two, whilst I have in my house two macroons of little or no use. One of these is my cook; she was the first slave allotted me on my arrival in this country and being very honest and faithful I have not cared to exchange her.

Accustomed to make the round of this river once every year I have now omitted doing so for the last three or four years since it is impossible to get about with less than eight men and a coxswain, and therefore all work would have to be neglected in the meantime.

The four negro bricklayers (one of whom is a macroon) figuring upon the Fort inventory have always worked more

[1] See p. 37.

upon the Company's plantations than at the Fort, since all the brickwork required is done by them. I openly confess, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, that I very well understand that YY. HH. cannot grasp the fact that seven carpenters and four bricklayers do not get through more work. Had we the good fortune and honour (as had those in Berbice) of having a member of Your Honours' body with us for but one year, YY. HH. would have quite different ideas.

Heat and constant humidity produce fermentation and consequent rot; this is an immutable law in physics and chemistry. Hence the fact, as I have repeatedly had the honour of pointing out, that nothing lasts out here; what will serve in Europe for 50 years or even longer will scarcely last ten here. Even iron and steel will rot away of themselves, though unused. Take for example my house (into which I moved in May, 1749) and in which all the wood-work was cypress (called iron-wood in Europe[1]). It was well and solidly built, and yet notwithstanding that it was well looked after (as YY. HH. can easily imagine), that several new doors and window-frames were put in, that a new roof was made and that the outer-gallery was re-bricked—notwithstanding all this it is in ruins, uninhabitable and utterly beyond repair, and that in thirteen years. The timber which in Europe has only to be fetched from the saw-mills according to measure must in this country be felled and squared in the woods hours off, dragged out and brought here by boat and then planed down to the required measurement before it can be put to any use.

Whilst in Europe carts and horses are employed for bringing wood, stone and other materials to the spot where

[1] On account of its hardness. *Siderondendron triflorum.* Rich. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch Guiana, 1848*, iii. p. 826.

they are wanted everything here has to be dragged and brought up by negroes. The leaves for the roofs[1] have to be cut in Demerara, dragged to the water's edge and brought here by canoe; the same with spars, etc.

All this adduced as briefly as possible (for much more could be said) is the honest and irrefutable truth and if YY. HH. will kindly weigh it with deliberation I have little doubt that YY. HH. will agree that the complaints I made are just.

I was fairly certain that the great reform[2] would not increase the annual yield of sugar from Your Honours' plantations by a single hogshead and if I remember rightly I had the honour of foretelling as much to some members of Your Honours' body at the time. Experience has confirmed my prophecy.

Every change is not for the better, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs. A similar case was that of Your Honours' Posts[3]. Had matters remained *in statu quo* what profits would they not have produced with the high price of annatto dye[4]? This is irreparable, for the Indians have neglected or cut down all their dye trees.

. . . . .

Everything is going on pretty well at Post Arinda, I having discharged the Postholder on the last day of December 1762, on account of his neglect and unpardonable laziness, and appointed the assistant, Hendrik Bakker, in his place; but I have as yet selected no fresh assistant, because I would like to have a competent and trustworthy person.

Whilst considering the importance of that Post and the meagre knowledge we have of it, I came to the resolve last year to send two persons, named Elias Lindgreen and

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[1] "Troolie" (see p. 403).
[2] See p. 37.
[3] Cf. p. 430.
[4] See p. 289.

Joseph la Chau, who appeared to me very competent to undertake such a matter, up the River Demerary, and so to the Post and further up Essequibo for discovery. But as the best planned undertaking often miscarries, ill-luck willed that these two persons fell out, Joseph La Chau returning to me from the Post, and the other proceeding on his journey alone, from which I promise myself but little good.

Joseph la Chau brought me one of the most exact accounts of his journey that I have ever seen, and since both that and the list of necessities made out by him in view of such an undertaking have convinced me of his fitness, I resolved to send the list immediately to Mr de Bruyn, with a request to furnish me with the things at the first opportunity. It is my intention to send the same person up river again as speedily as possible and well escorted, and to risk a little sum in this because I feel pretty certain that it will be of very great use, and bring us much profit, over and above the fact that an acquaintance with the interior and the course of our river is well worth the trouble expended; the only reason why such was not done much earlier is that I had no proper people to do it[1].

. . . . .

The Postholder of Arinda has reported to me, and his report has been corroborated by Joseph la Chau, who came

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[1] Pieter de Bruyn was Storm's agent in Zeeland for his private affairs, and the despatch of the list to him leads to the inference that the Director-General regarded the expedition as a business venture of his own. That the W. I. C. so read his letter and determined to take over the matter for its own account seems probable from their reply, dated *July 20, 1763*, which ran:—

"We approve the explorations which you intend having made above the Post Arinda, and likewise we have no doubt that, if they are carefully done, they will be of no slight importance to us. In view of this, we take upon ourselves the expenses occasioned thereby."

down from the Post about that time, that the tribe of Manoas (usually called Magnouws here), being dissatisfied with the treatment they received from the Portuguese of Brazil, had resolved to come to this Colony to make a Treaty of Commerce with us, and that a strong body had set out with that object. Also that the Carib nation, jealous of its trade, had a few years before my arrival in this Colony (as the old Protocols show), been the means, by bringing false information, of getting the Envoys of that tribe badly treated (several of them having been killed), and that, moved by the same spirit, it had now assembled on hearing this news, and had lain in ambush for the Manoas in order to prevent their progress. This caused a sharp fight, in which both sides lost heavily; but the Caribs were totally defeated and put to flight. The Manoas, feeling themselves too weak after their losses, postponed their journey till this year, and sent word to the Postholder that they would come down in such numbers as to have no fear of the Caribs. On the other hand, the Caribs are assembling from all sides in order to oppose them, so that it is possible that we shall this year see one of the bloodiest and most obstinate fights that has probably taken place in these parts for 100 years or more. I hope the Caribs may get a good hiding, because I have always wished to see a few Manoas here, being convinced that it would be of considerable advantage to this Colony, Mr Bandeyra, who was the second voice in Brazil, and who had fled from there on account of some difference with the Bishop of Pernambuco, and who had lodged with me here for some weeks, having given me full information concerning that tribe and the great advantages the Portuguese derived from it[1].

I have informed the Chiefs of the Manoas, through the

[1] Cf. pp. 464 and 614.

Parhawaens[1], their friends, that we should welcome them and receive them well; that in order not to give umbrage they should, however, not come down stream in such great force, but that on arriving at the Post their Chiefs could come here under the escort of the Postholder or his assistant, whilst the others would wait there; and that the Caribs would not dare to do anything to them whilst they were under that escort. I am very anxious to hear the outcome of this matter.

The following despatch is the first of a series dealing with a crisis brought about by a general rising of slaves in Berbice. That colony was exploited by a "Societeit" in the same way as Essequibo and Demerara were run by the West India Company—and with quite as strict a regard for economy. The Governor was Wolfert Simon van Hoogenheim—like Storm, a man who had seen military service, and who, on taking office in 1760,

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[1] Paravilhanas seems the best form of the name, though we also find the same tribe called Parahans, Parhavianes, Paravianas, Paravianos, Paravilhanos and Parauanas. Nicolas Horstman (in the long-lost account of his inland journey from Essequibo to Brazil, see pp. 167—174) records his stay of four months in a settlement of this tribe on the Essequibo near the mouth of the R. Siparuni, but from Storm we hear nothing of them until *1763*, when they carry this message from him to the Manáos. Again there is silence concerning them until *1769*, when Storm's emissary Jansse finds them on the banks of the Mahu, whither they had removed "being too greatly molested by the Caribs" (see p. 618).

Jozé Monteiro de Noronha, in an itinerary written in *1770* or *1771* (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. 89), speaks of the tribe as dwelling on the R. Tacutu, and Ribeiro de Sampaio, a Chief Magistrate on the R. Negro (see p. 25), calls them in *1777* (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. pp. 109 and 132) still the ruling tribe on the R. Branco, the Indian name of which is Paraviana. These statements render it only the more interesting to find some of them, on the authority of Richard Schomburgk (*Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, i. p. 313), forming part of the British settlement at Pirara in *1840*.

found Berbice in a pitiable state owing to a long-continued epidemic and European neglect. In 1762 he wrote home that there were no more provisions or trading wares in stock and that there was a total lack of everything. "Your Honours cannot believe what a bad impression this makes upon the temperament of the slaves and in our critical circumstances worse results might easily ensue." "This cry of distress," says Netscher[1], *"gives a true idea of the sad state of Berbice at that period." The story of the revolt that van Hoogenheim had feared is sufficiently set out for our purpose in Storm's despatches.*

Berbice was not so far off Essequibo—a matter of 85 miles overland, 115 by sea—but that the flame of rebellion might easily have spread had it not been checked in time; as it was, Demerara was already in imminent danger. It was by Storm's energy and the aid of the English forces sent from Barbados that both Essequibo and Demerara were saved.

P.R.O. 471/166

March 17, 1763.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

I had the honour of informing YY. HH. by Captains Roberts and Leger (by means of a supplementary letter sent out to sea with the boat of "'t Essequebo Welvaeren" and which caught the ship) of the sad reports received concerning the Colony of Berbice.

I had flattered myself that things would not prove to be so bad as had been reported by the first fugitives. But, alas! it is only too true. Administrative Councillors Bouguer and Perrotet, of that Colony, Councillor of Justice van Daelen, Lieutenant Sejourné and a large number of others who fled, together with many women and children,

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 193, 194.

to Demerara, have given us but too certain news of the sad and pitiable fate of Berbice. A large number of colonists having fled to the Society's[1] plantation "Dubbelmine" were attacked there by the mutineers. They defended themselves bravely but the latter set fire to the house and then murdered them all in a gruesome manner. Among the victims are the Rev. Mr Ramring, his wife and sister-in-law, the whole Nicolas family, Manager Hoerle, Mrs George and seven children, and many others.

All the plantations as far as the Fort were abandoned. What had happened to the Fort they did not know, since the whole river as far as that was occupied by the mutineers, but they had grave fears about it, especially as the garrison was exceptionally weak through the despatch of most of the soldiers in pursuit of the first party of rebels. When half way to Demerara they heard several loud reports at night but were not certain whether they came from the Fort or from a plantation near by which has twelve powerful swivel-guns.

The Commander of Demerara on receipt of these news summoned the Old Councillors and burgher officers in order to frame measures for the protection of the Colony; they met on the 14th inst. and passed a number of resolutions. These were immediately sent here for ratification by the Court of Justice, a special meeting of which I had convoked for the 16th; the resolutions and regulations, having been carefully examined, were approved and ratified without amendment. This meeting sent a letter to the Governor of Berbice[2] by a white man viâ Mahaicony and Abary.

Mr Persik's barque is in process of being armed here and will be sent to Berbice by sea as speedily as possible.

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[1] See p. 415. [2] *Ib.*

Old-Captain[1] Schutz will be in command and it will be manned by some sailors belonging to the vessels lying here in addition to the ordinary crew.

I have summoned the burgher captains here and expect them to-day. They must draw up lists of the burghers and determine which of them are, at the first alarm, to come to the Fort with the creoles set apart for that duty, and to proceed, if necessary (which the Almighty mercifully forfend), to Demerara, for which purpose Mr Zeagers' schooner lies ready.

In a word, YY. HH., we have endeavoured to take every possible precaution and for the rest and above all we must hope and trust upon the protection and merciful support of the Almighty.

I am writing by this same vessel viâ St Eustatius to the Directors of the Society of Berbice and shall this week write to Surinam and also, if there be an opportunity, as is probable, to Barbados, sending a copy hereof.

We shall do all that lies in our power to aid the poor, unfortunate fugitives.

I remain, with deepest respect and esteem,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—After this had been closed and copies already sent off to Barbados I was told by men sent out by the Commander of Demerara (this being the fifth express he sends) that in coming here they had spoken in the mouth of Demerara with Mr Jacobus Gelskerke, who had just arrived there in a big boat with all his slaves. From him they learnt that the Fort in Berbice was in the hands

[1] Another honorary title for veterans (see pp. 194 and 417).

of the rebels, that the Governor had retired to the ships with a party of men and had dropped down stream. Bad news, indeed.

Demerara is in utmost danger. I hope for speedy assistance from YY. HH. I am really half dazed, getting no rest night or day and having to write about and see to everything. May the Almighty protect us; in Him and His all-powerful support I put all my trust.

P.R.O. 471/167

May 2, 1763.

(Extracts)

By the vessels "De Gezusters" and "Spreeuwenburg" I had the honour of sending YY. HH. the first reports we received of the painful fate of our neighbouring colony Berbice; having subsequently received further information I wrote to YY. HH. somewhat more fully viâ St Eustatius and Barbados.

Since that time, YY. HH., I have not had a moment's rest, everything being in a tumult here and especially in Demerara, whence I have received one express after another by reason of the not ungrounded fear that it would be attacked by the mutineers from Berbice (in accordance with the latter's threats) and also because the spirit of revolt and mutiny appeared to be getting the mastery upon some of the topmost English plantations.

Most of the women and children have left Demerara, some coming here, some going to St Eustatius. The able-bodied men have been forbidden to leave the Colony and every human effort has been made to stifle the revolt. I hope the Almighty may graciously grant His blessing thereunto.

. . . . .

I am now beginning to realize the weakness of my garrison. Demerara, being most exposed to danger, could not be left without aid; one sergeant, two corporals, a drummer and fourteen men are at present there and I have now only a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer and eighteen men here, three or four of whom are disabled through age or some other cause. With these, unless the burghers come up smartly, it is an absolute impossibility to hold the Fort if anything happen (which God forfend).

How, too, can such be expected of the burghers, when twenty-four of them, with two officers and two non-coms. have gone to Demerara? Would they not try to join forces in order to defend their possessions and lives as far as possible?

To see a colony like Berbice totally ruined and deserted in nine days, more than forty whites (according to report) massacred in the most barbarous manner, the Fort burnt and abandoned by the Governor, who retreated to the river mouth whilst the mutineers had the assurance to attack the vessels as they dropped down stream, to fire upon them from the shore (although for this they got well paid out) and to capture in sight of the ships a vessel in their wake containing ninety faithful slaves—these occurrences fill everyone with terror and amazement.

I thank God that in these circumstances it has pleased Him to grant me so much strength so shortly after a long and severe illness, for I did not think I could have endured half as much. Neither by night nor by day have I rest and I am not free from work for a moment.

. . . . .

I had sent the letters going to YY. HH. viâ Barbados to Demerara with instructions to the Commander to despatch a barque lying up the river as speedily as possible to Barbados, to inform the Governor[1] and Mr

[1] Charles Pinfold, LL.D., arrived in the Colony *May 10, 1756*, and

Clarke[1] of the sad fate of Berbice and of the danger, and to inquire whether it were not possible to come to the aid of that colony[2].

A small barque had just arrived there and set sail again at once with the letters.

YY. HH. can easily imagine what consternation those letters caused there. Mr Clarke was immediately up and doing[3], and on the second day after the arrival of the little

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left it *May 26, 1766*, "having," says Poyer (*History of Barbados, 1808*, p. 329), "exercised the executive authority with a propriety which added lustre to his reputation and afforded satisfaction to the community over which he presided." He died *Nov. 4, 1789*, in the 80th year of his age.

[1] Gedney Clarke, for an account of whom see pp. 39–43.

[2] It is of interest to compare Storm's remarks on pp. 444, 445.

[3] The following letter (*Brit. Mus. Eg. MSS. 1720*—cf. Note 1 on p. 448) addressed by Gedney Clarke to Count William Bentinck (see p. 276) is of interest here.

Barbados, 3 April, 1763.

My Lord,

My Son when he was at the Hague, had the honour of being introduced to your Lordship; he wrote me that you had some discourse with him concerning that new Settlement of Demorary and that you was inclined to give it all proper encouragement:

I am sorry to inform you, Sir, that Richard Wiltshire, Esq., a Gentleman who went over to make a purchase, had just arrived, when he heard that there was an Insurrection of the Negroes at Berbice; that they had taken possession of the greatest part of the Plantations; and that the Governour had blown up the Fort, and made his escape, on board a ship that lay very near; That they gave out they wou'd proceed to Demorary and Isequebe and do the same there; Upon this Intelligence Mr Wiltshire returned as fast as he cou'd and arrived here last Monday evening; on Tuesday I dispatched a Vessel with some arms and ammunition and yesterday I dispatched a Ship of Eighteen Guns and two armed Brigantines, with Lieutenant Towers, and one hundred Marines and Sailors, that Cap[t] Wheelock, of his Majestys ship Pembroke (Admiral Rodney not being here) was so kind as to send in the Ship; In the Brigantines there were Cap[t] Jacob Smiths Company of Men, raised here, besides the Saylors; and I shall send another Vessel over to-morrow; so that I hope, if those Negroes dont pay the Visit before those Vessels arrive all may be safe;

I have wrote to Mr Gravesande and desired he wou'd order the

barque in Barbados there sailed thence a frigate carrying sixteen pieces of heavy ordnance and a full crew and the

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Ships from Isequebe to Demorary and to make a proper stand there; As the Plantations are all upon the brink of the River one armed Vessel wou'd defend a Plantation against the attack of many thousand Negroes, but I do not expect that they will be sent. I dispatched also a Vessel on Tuesday to Governor De Windt desiring he wou'd, without delay, send up some armed sloops and men. The Negroes of Berbice, it is said, have sent to Demorary that those that will not join them they will cut of.

I have, Sir, had great trouble and been at a vast expence in my Buildings and to clear the Plantations that my Sons and friends have there; and now, just as they are brought into order, to have them destroyed hurts me greatly; And this I must take the liberty to say is owing to the neglect and indolence of those that had the Care and direction of those Colonys; They have known that the Inhabitants in Berbice have been reduced greatly within the last three Years; I do not know how many soldiers there were there; I know there are none at Demorary; and I think not aboveTwenty at Isequebe. By this piece of parsimony the States will loose the best Settlement in the West Indies.

You may judge Sir of that by my assuring you that every year, after the next, I and my son G. C. shou'd have certainly produced from our Estates as much Sugar, Rum, Rice and Indigo as wou'd amount to near Twenty thousand pounds Sterling. I have reason Sir to complain, and I do so not only for myself, but in behalf of every Inhabitant in that River; I will take upon me to say that if the blow be even now warded of, it will never thrive under the direction and management it now is; if the States will take it into their own hands and send a Governour of some consequence with a Regiment and make it a free Port, it will very soon exceed every other Settlement they have in the West Indies: At present the Company allow their Governour not so much as I do the Manager of one of my Plantations.

In short, Sir, everything has gone on so heavily and in such a languid manner that I have been very uneasy for some time; I am now much more so. I wou'd not have presumed to have taken up so much of your Lordship's time and wrote in this free and open manner did I not beleive that you wou'd be glad to know the particulars I have mentioned; and I think if I had not given your Lordship this Information I wou'd not have been excused.

I am with great respect,

Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

GEDNEY CLARKE.

barque itself laden with guns and ammunition, both of which reached Demerara after a very short voyage.

These were followed two days later by two heavily armed brigantines, carrying a company of seventy-five, exclusive of the crew, and comprising altogether about three hundred men. This speedy succour brought tranquillity back to Demerara and caused most of those who had fled down the river to return to their homes and their work[1].

. . . . . .

The Governor of Barbados having sent word to the Commander of Demerara by the captain of the frigate that in the event of my asking for assistance in the name of Their High Mightinesses it would immediately be sent me, I resolved, after long deliberation and reflexion, to ask for the aid of two hundred men and the necessary equipment[2], should the state of affairs after due examination require it. I think that, with the Lord's blessing, this would leave little cause for fear, and I think it better to incur these somewhat heavy costs than to lose all.

Great is the state of despondency here, as YY. HH. can well imagine, and the worst and most dangerous is that it is being too openly exhibited; I am not left in peace for a moment and can only write by scraps and shreds. Then, too, I am so worn out that I can scarcely get along; added to this the impossibility of satisfying people is enough to make one half mad.

. . . . . .

With the Barbados packet-boat I am informed that in reply to the express sent thence to the Governor of St

[1] Gedney Clarke, in a letter dated *June 6, 1763* (*Brit. Mus. Eg. MSS. 1720*) to his son, then in London, writes:—"It is very evident if I had not sent over the five vessels, that I did so expeditiously, that Demerary and Essequebo would have been lost—the Inhabitants of the upper part of Demerary were flying as fast as possible...."

[2] This resolve it was not necessary to carry out. See note, p. 445.

Eustatius[1], His Honour had resolved to send to Demerara as speedily as possible two vessels with armed crews, which are hourly expected there[2].

. . . . . .

At the beginning of these troubles I had sent to Upper Essequibo to warn the Indian tribes, and, if possible, to get them to take up arms. They did, indeed, hold their arms in readiness, but went no farther. It has therefore been resolved by the Court that Joseph de Meijer, a person who is well acquainted with all the inland roads, and has a perfect knowledge of the languages, is to go up the river and place himself at the head of the tribes; that he is closely to besiege the upper part of Berbices, close all the passes, and capture, living or dead, all who take that road, the Post-holder having strict orders to accompany him, and to afford him aid in all matters.

The aforesaid Meijer has orders to send expresses from time to time informing us of all that he learns, and to hold himself in readiness, in case it should be necessary to attack the rebels from the side of Demerary (of which he would be immediately informed), to drop down stream with his men in order to assist in the attack.

I have written this week to the Governor of Surinam, and by a boat which I am dispatching in a few days' time to Berbices I shall write to the Governor there to acquaint him with these measures.

. . . . . .

The Commander of Demerara[3] has written to inform me that he has taken the liberty of asking YY. HH. for his discharge. I cannot help feeling that he is right in doing so (as I have told him) for it is quite impossible for him to make

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[1] *...den loyalen en menschlievenden (Jan) de Wind...* (Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 218).

[2] These two vessels, however, never came to Demerara, but were detained in Berbice (see pp. 426, 427).

[3] See p. 335.

both ends meet and I fear that under the present circumstances he will get so backward that it will take him quite a time to get straight. Wherefore I take the liberty of endorsing his request, of begging YY. HH. graciously to grant it and to send another competent person in his place.

. . . . . .

The number of my years, increasing weakness and ailments no longer permit me to do and to act as I would like, and finding daily that I am getting gradually less able properly to discharge my duties and in a manner after my own heart, having, moreover, by the Lord's goodness and unfailing mercy attained this measure of years and been graciously preserved and protected, it is time and high time, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, to think of the great voyage to Eternity and to employ the little time which the Lord in His mercy will still grant me in His service.

Wherefore I take the liberty of begging YY. HH. most humbly and earnestly to be pleased graciously to grant me my discharge and dismissal from my duties, thanking YY. HH. at the same time from the bottom of my heart for so many and such various favours and benefits which YY. HH. have in my twenty-five years' service been pleased to bestow upon me and for which I shall as long as I live preserve an indelible gratitude and a heart full of thanks. I have at the same time the honour to assure YY. HH. that although discharged from Your Honours' service I shall, as long as I live, remain faithful to the Honble. Co., and ever hold myself in readiness to do all that my strength permits whenever my services might be required[1].

[1] The application for discharge was repeated in *September* of the same year (see pp. 434–437).

P.R.O. 471/193

June 20, 1763.

(Extracts)

Hoping that all my previous despatches concerning Berbice and this Colony, as well those by vessels departing hence as those viâ Barbados and St Eustatius, will have reached YY. HH. long before the arrival of this one, and that the necessary measures have already been taken by YY. HH., there being *periculum in mora,* I shall have the honour of continuing herein my report of events since my last by "D'Essequebo Planter."

By the Lord's unmerited goodness and mercy we are still at peace and continue to do all in our power to employ every possible means of maintaining that peace.

. . . . .

Fully relying not only upon Governor de Wind's letter to Mr Clarke in Barbados but also upon His Honour's despatch to me that the two manned and armed barques would come from St Eustatius to Demerara[1] it was my intention to send those crews over land to the upper part of Berbice and to post them on the highest plantation there.

. . . . .

By a change in Mr de Wind's measures this plan fell through for His Honour, having sent the two barques direct to Berbice[2] (where, since I am unacquainted with the cir-

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[1] See p. 424.

[2] Though Count Bentinck's views communicated in the following letter (*Brit. Mus. Eg. MSS. 1720*) to Gedney Clarke, Jr., then in London, could not possibly have influenced the Colonial Governors so directly, it is interesting to have them as commentary on the above, and as indicative of his sympathy.

To Gedney Clarke, Junr., Esq.

Hague, June 28, 1763.

Sir,

I am favoured with your Letter of the 16th inst. What occupies the present attention is the sending immediate succour to the Berbices and rescuing that colony. What relates to the security,

cumstances, I presume they were much more necessary) instead of to Demerara, and the captains thereof having come to an agreement concerning the premiums with Governor van Hoogenheim, we are obliged to wait and see what the upshot will be.

. . . . . .

"Het Essequebo Welvaeren" having sailed for Europe and "Het Hof van Ramsburg" being about to follow shortly "Het Loo" will go and lie in Demerara, for I cannot allow it to depart before another vessel from Europe takes its place, since it would be unjustifiable in these critical circumstances to leave that river without ships, and one is

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conservation and improvement of the neighbouring Colonys does not deserve least attention. The share you have in that of Demerary and Isequebo and your possessions there have given you an opportunity of judging by your own observations what difficultys there are in effectuating any timely and proportionable measure. I flatter myself that the misfortune happened at Berbices will open people's eyes and convince them of the absolute and indispensable necessity of taking precautions to prevent the like happening in all the other colonys. Which I own that I dread and am in much more fear about them than others who, by the interest they have there, seem to be. I shall be mightily obliged to you if you will be so good as to send me the materials which might serve for forming a plan, for the greatest advantages of our colonys in America. I am affraid that the whole establishment of them is defectuous in many points. Nobody can furnish better materials than your father, who, by what I see, as well as by what I hear of him from others must be a man of superior genius, talents and spirit, and whose experience and knowledge of that part of the globe, as well as of what is the nature of a colony make him more proper than any body to give the necessary informations. You may be sure that I will make the best advantage of what ever he will be pleased to send me and do my utmost endeavours to remove the difficultys which might obstruct the execution of what he might propose....I beg you would present my most sincere and hearty compliments to your father and assure him that I neglect no opportunity of doing him justice nor of shewing in its true light the spiritted and manly part he has acted in this affair, which will be acknowledged by those who have the benefit of this important service.

I am, Sir,

W. BENTINCK.

not even enough and causes dissatisfaction. If the English vessels were not there one ship would certainly have to lie up the river and one down stream, and the big vessels are little suited to send up the river. I was very pleased to receive a letter yesterday from the Commander of Demerara informing me that Mr Sampson, a burgher of that river, had offered his small Bermudan barque, which is well armed and commanded by his son, for the country's service, for I could get no better or more suitable vessel, to proceed either up and down the river or to Berbice. Wherefore I immediately wrote to Mr Spoors to ascertain his feelings on the matter; he having replied that in his opinion it was absolutely necessary to engage the barque I, with equal despatch, bade the Commander do so and to agree to pay up to 400 or 450 guilders per month.

P.R.O. 471/215

Sept. 27, 1763.

(Extracts)

If the sugar planters generally, both those of the Honble. Co. and private ones, would in cultivating the grounds follow the example of Messrs A. van der Cruysse and C. Boter as now shown on Varken Island and also the example of the English in boiling the kiltum the yields would undoubtedly be considerably greater than they are now. For if we look coolly at van der Cruysse's yields and at the number of his slaves the thing is conclusive and irrefutable.

Hereupon those unversed in matters here must naturally ask, "Why have you, being chief in command, not had things done in this way?"—a question which must certainly follow my conclusion but which I can easily and briefly answer. For expecting, upon the arrival of the first vessel,

to hand over the command to those whom YY. HH. shall have been pleased to honour therewith I hope YY. HH. will graciously permit me to write in plain words and *goed rond goed zeeuws* [*sic*][1].

In reply then to this question which I have put to myself I will say that when, being in Europe in the year 1751, I was, by command of His Late Serene Highness of most laudable memory, handed the letter-book of this Colony I read there that concerning the work of the plantations I was quite *ignorant*, which in plain Dutch means knowing or understanding nothing about it; it was further made clear to me that these words had created an impression, inasmuch as all that I had personally done for the improvement of the plantations, such as their removal further down, their digging over, and other matters too long to adduce, were put down to another's credit, so that I might indeed say with the poet:—

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.
Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves, &c.[2]

Seeing further, after my return here, that my suggestions did not meet with the same favour as before, that they were regarded quite other than they had been during my former twelve years of service and that the administration of the plantations was no longer in my hands but, although *conjunctim*, in those of another[3], who consequently carried off all the honour, leaving nothing but toil and trouble for me—seeing also that differences were most disagreeable to YY. HH., I preferred to give way and no longer to interfere in those matters except when my opinion

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[1] Though Storm was not a native of Zeeland he was very fond of applying this expression (which may be freely rendered "frank as a Zeelander") to his own outspokenness—cf. pp. 629 and 644.

[2] Cf. p. 355.

[3] Adriaan Spoors, the Secretary. Cf. p. 38.

was asked, giving it then outright and without circumlocution, both in the Court of Policy and outside it.

Leaving the plantations I will now turn to the affairs of the Colony, which, relating to two distinct rivers, although to one Colony, require two separate articles.

Beginning with Essequibo, I will first mention the Posts or so-called trading-places, four in number, of the Honourable Company.

The first is Maroco, situated between this river and Orinoco, under the direction of which are the Rivers of Pomeroon and Weyni, full of Indians of the Carib, Arawak, and Warouw nations, whose help is always required, both by the Company and by private salters and traders, and who have also to be kept in a continual sort of subjection in order to prevent the escape of runaway slaves, and to facilitate their capture.

The road to the Spaniards leads past this Post, so that no one can go that road without the knowledge of the Postholder, who therefore, if he wishes, can generally get to know what is going on in Orinoco. This Post was of very great importance when trade was still carried on there for the Honourable Company; it then furnished oreane dye[1] and boats, and since the cessation of the trade there is a great want of the latter.

On the other side of the river is the second, namely, Maycouni, between Demerary and Berbices. The chief use of this Post just now is really to keep possession of the country, for without it Maycouni would already have been inhabited some time from another side, concerning which matter I had the honour to write fully some years ago.

Formerly this Post used to furnish a considerable

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[1] Another name for annatto or arnotto. Cf. p. 289.

quantity of oreane dye and boats, as is to be seen in the old business books.

The third is Post Arinda, up in Essequibo, really intended for the trade in red slaves and dye and for the further exploration of the lands and tribes of the interior, as well as to prevent the slaves making off in that direction.

The fourth, and last, is the still abandoned Post in Cuyuni, abandoned since the raids of the Spaniards, a Post of the very greatest importance, because the Spaniards, in order to get to this river, and the slaves in order to escape to them, have a free and open road, and also because the Spaniards have driven away the Caribs who lived there, and who could apprehend and bring back the runaways.

Having finished with the Posts I will now turn to this island[1]. And what am I to say of it, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, but what I have so often said before, with which I am afraid I have often wearied YY. HH. but which I deemed it my bounden duty to do?

I beg YY. HH. not to take it amiss if I obey my conscience and say once more in my last report that it is as impossible to keep the Fort and dwellings in any sort of order with the present number of men as it is to reach Heaven with one's hands. I shall not dilate further upon this, having done so sufficiently in my former letters—the dwellings dilapidated, the cannon without gun-carriages, the batteries out of repair, the beams of the redoubt already propped up, the great platform falling in, in a word, everything in a pitiable state. I live in a house in which I can scarcely turn, and can therefore lodge no one; I am compelled to hold the Court meetings in the preacher's house because there is no room in mine, and I have not yet been able to find time to pull down the old Government house, let alone build a new one. What will be the end of

[1] Flag Island, on which stood Fort Zeelandia. Cf. p. 198.

all this? Besides the house I now inhabit there is absolutely no dwelling for my successor or the Commandant when they arrive, wherefore some weeks ago I purchased at my own expense for eleven hundred guilders a house which just happened to come up for sale, and which will still cost me just as much for repairs.

With regard to the private plantations all is, the Lord be praised, fairly peaceful and tranquil up to now; the plantations and their inhabitants do not increase considerably, it is true, but neither do they decrease, and everything remains mostly upon the old footing. Products, with the Lord's blessing, go on pretty favourably and the coffee plantations in this river, although very few in number, are rapidly advancing. But just as some years ago complaints were general concerning the lack of ships they are now just as numerous with regard to the fact that all arrive together. The result is that it is impossible to execute all the charter-parties without leaving other absolutely necessary work at a standstill, and in this way the plantations must needs go backward.

. . . . .

With regard to Demerara YY. HH. are fully aware how much care and trouble I took for populating and furthering the progress of that river, commenced under my direction, what opposition and reverses I had to contend with, how I looked after the Honble. Co.'s interests when the river was opened, how I watched over the allotment of grounds, so recklessly managed here, and how, in a word, I did all that was humanly possible for the interests of my masters and the welfare of the colonists, two aims that ought never to be separated.

It had pleased the Almighty so far to bless those efforts that I already began to see the desired results and to foster hopes, not ungrounded, that I might, if to some extent supported, see that river in a flourishing state, when all

those fine prospects were suddenly destroyed by the calamity that befell the colony of Berbice, concerning which more hereafter.

. . . . . .

The plantations in Demerara have gone back very much since March, especially those situated higher up[1]; this could not well be otherwise, on account of the constant fear in which they were, not without reason, for had it not been for the speedy despatch of the creoles and a few soldiers from this river and the aid, following so shortly upon it, from Barbados, Demerara would, according to human reckoning, have been lost and would certainly have been followed by the loss of Essequibo. For we may not flatter ourselves, Your Honours. In this so widely outspread river it would have been impossible to assemble and consequently to offer any resistance, and I being unable to procure any assistance (even from Surinam, as Berbice was still able to do) we could not have held out in the long run against such odds and would have been obliged to give in and be lost[2].

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[1] Compare, however, his subsequent remarks in the same despatch (p. 438).

[2] Gedney Clarke, in a letter to Count Bentinck, dated Barbados, *December 28, 1763*, says :—

"I am far from ascribing any merit to myself; but it is certain had I not sent the timely aid, and in the manner, I did, that Demorary and Isequebe wou'd have been cut off; and Surinam wou'd in time have followed; and in course the States wou'd have lost that whole Continent.

"What a pity is it that those Rivers have been thus neglected! If Demorary in particular, an infant Settlement, of a few Years, had been encouraged properly I assure you Sir that it wou'd, by this time, have been full of Inhabitants and brought in a great Revenue; But it has been neglected, in a most shameful manner; and for my part, I do not expect it much better under the direction of a Company; but if they are to continue so I hope and intreat that Demorary may be under a seperate Government; They want no manner of assistance, or any thing else, from Isequebe; The Inhabitants of that River have allways

In Demerara the close proximity of the plantations might have enabled the burghers to assemble and to offer some resistance, but here that was impossible.

In Berbice matters are still in a sad state and I fear that unless assistance from Europe is shortly forthcoming the Governor will have to give up his task. The danger is doubly enhanced by the mutiny of 70 Surinam soldiers in the Corentin—a serious event as unexpected as it is unintelligible—though before it happened there appeared to be some prospect of salvation. The copies of the letters thence will give VV. HH. an insight into affairs there.

The Governor of Berbice having done me the honour of asking me to let him know as speedily as possible my advice and feelings respecting the line to be taken up by him in the present state of affairs I despatched a vessel with letters thither about eighteen days ago, and this not having yet returned I am sorely perplexed, not knowing how to account for its being so long delayed[1].

. . . . . .

Next October it will be twenty-six years since I had the honour of entering the Honble. Co.'s service and on the 13th of May last it was twenty-five years since I arrived in this Colony. In all that time I have, to the best of my knowledge, done all in my power, putting my own welfare aside, to promote the Company's true interests (at least, as they presented themselves to me) and to increase its revenues, not losing sight of the private planters' welfare,

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looked upon Demorary with a jealous eye." (*Brit. Mus. Eg. MSS. 1720.*)

[1] In a letter dated *January 16, 1764* (communicated to us by the courtesy of Dr R. Fruin), Governor van Hoogenheim writes:—"In those exceedingly unfortunate...circumstances...the consequences of which have been most dire, I found great help in the friendly correspondence I kept up with good, old Heer Storm van 's Gravesande... in whose wise and well-tried advice I always concurred concerning matters of moment."

which I regard as inseparable from the [redacted] that period, too, I have received many and [redacted] from YY. HH., for which I have always tried to [redacted] remain, most grateful.

I have always treated the Company's servants and the private planters with every possible consideration and amiability, have never let anyone who wished to see me wait half-an-hour, night or day, nor received them in unfriendly fashion; never have I detained a skipper a single day or let him wait for me. Riches I have never hunted nor sought after and during such long service I have never troubled YY. HH. for the least increase of salary. It is true that YY. HH. did once please to give me an increase of 300 guilders per year, but this was done unasked and by Your Honours' especial favour and generosity, thus increasing the obligation of the recipient. Yet, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, I can honestly assure YY. HH. that notwithstanding that great increase my income is at present less than was that of my predecessor, whilst my expenses are incomparably greater than were his. This may appear paradoxical to YY. HH. but I will take the liberty of submitting it in a brief sketch.

When I arrived in this Colony the Company was accustomed to furnish its servants' households with all the most requisite things, such as serviettes, table-cloths, candlesticks, plates, dishes, pots and pans, &c. That has stopped.

When each fortnight divine service was held at the Fort my predecessor had from each plantation pigs, fowls, ducks—in a word, all that his table required. This has also been discontinued by later regulations. In addition to the poultry he got an ox from the plantations both at every Court meeting and on high days and holidays; this alone amounts to well over 300 guilders annually. The Posts, which were still trading then, brought him abundance of fowls; I have seen as many as eighty brought in at

[redacted]ks, basket-work and many other necessaries [redacted]m the same source, and although of little [redacted]nselves they still mounted up. The Honble. [redacted] no loss by all this. A fowl cost a knife or two, a hammock four ells of salempouri or cotton and it was all amply repaid by what was got in barter at the Posts for the Honble. Co.'s account. Maize for poultry-feeding he got in abundance, whilst I was obliged to buy it from the colonists at the rate of five guilders per thousand head. Many other small things I will omit for the sake of brevity.

From the above YY. HH. will, I hope, be convinced of the truth of what I said before. Since my return from Europe I have been compelled to put up with much opposition, contumely and contempt and have seen my best intentions either clandestinely or openly thwarted. I have borne all with the utmost patience, hoping that it would all some day stop and that by going quietly to work I would live it all down. My sole consolation in all this was a good conscience, the knowledge that I had nothing of any import to reproach myself with, and the honour of having so often received Your Honours' gracious approval of my conduct, as I gratefully admit to have been the case only in Your Honours' last letter. Wherefore too I held out as long as it pleased the Almighty to favour me with sufficient strength.

But now approaching my sixtieth year, an age at which it is customary to retire from public affairs, and which, according to ancient law and custom, justifies discharge therefrom, and feeling my strength and power daily diminishing I thought it at last time to retire and to seek some rest.

Wherefore taking the liberty of assuring YY. HH. of my heartfelt and eternal gratitude for such manifold benefits received, attributing my vexations in no wise to YY. HH. but to my enemies and to those who envy me my peace and

honour, and thinking (though possibly I may be mistaken) that these have frequently misled YY. HH. by fine words, I have the honour once more to assure YY. HH. that as long as I live or am in this country I shall never be found wanting when my humble judgment or advice is asked and shall always be ready to further the service and interest of the Honble. Co.

I implore the Most High to bestow upon YY. HH., Your Honours' persons, families and dear ones His choicest blessings, so to influence Your Honours' deliberations that the choice of my successor may fall upon one excelling me in every part and who having at heart the Honble. Co.'s interest and the Colony's welfare may succeed to perfection with both[1].

Not trusting my health and strength I have written this in advance and three weeks before the departure of the vessel; if anything of importance happen before she starts I shall have the honour to let it follow hereupon.

. . . . .

I have returned from a four weeks' stay in Demerara because I deemed it absolutely necessary to be present at the Court meeting. The Rev. Mr Lingius preached twice there and came back with me. I went to inspect nearly all the lower plantations with Mr van Grevenbroek and walked round them.

But, YY. HH., my amazement was great to see such a change and such progress in a year's time, and that in spite of the critical circumstances which threw the work back a good deal. That river is not only equal to this but far

[1] Instead of granting Storm his discharge (for which he had already applied in *May* of the same year (see p. 425)) the Directors wrote expressing their approval of his conduct and sent him a present (usually consisting of a hogshead of wine); see p. 444. The Director-General makes no further allusion to the matter until *February, 1765* (see p. 482).

excels it, both in the regularity with which the plantations are laid out and cultivated and even in the yields. There are plantations which will produce far more than three hundred hogsheads of sugar a year; the coffee plantations are in such unsurpassable condition that those who have not seen them would certainly not believe it.

But though expectations are, under the Lord's blessing, great, general discontent and murmuring is not less so, seeing that the end of September has now come and not the least assistance has yet arrived from Europe.

. . . . .

The Chief of the Acuway tribe up in Demerary has come down with two negro girls and three hands of negroes, bringing information that he had made a night attack upon the plantation "De Savonnette," in Upper Berbice, and killed fifty-five negroes, men, women, and children, of the rebels; that on the approach of the neighbouring rebels he had been obliged to desist, his party being only twenty-seven strong, and that he had therefore retired without having one man killed or wounded; that on the journey back he had met a considerable number of Caribs making their way to Berbice, to whom he had given all the necessary information. He asked for nine rifles, powder and shot, to return to Berbice immediately, and join the Caribs in attacking the rebels. These were given him, together with some necessary instructions, which he promised to bear in mind.

Three canoes full of Caribs from Wayni passed this river on their way to Corentin, bent on the same errand.

P.R.O. 471/216

Sept. 28, 1763.

(Extract)

P.S. After writing this letter I hear that the discontent is getting so great and general, especially in Demerara, that I fear for the consequences. The aid sent by "Het Land Canaan" is so small in proportion to the immensity of the danger and the blame being mostly laid to my charge, I shall, I fear, be compelled to lay my letters to YY. HH. before the Court Meeting next Monday in order to convince it that I have done my duty.

P.R.O. 471/220

October 18, 1763.

(Extract)

I have had the honour of sending YY. HH. in several of my letters successive reports concerning the state of affairs in Berbice and the great danger this Colony runs of becoming involved in those grievous matters; I have further begged Mr de Wind, the Governor of St Eustatius, to submit to YY. HH., by every opportunity that presents itself, how great the danger is. Mr Clarke informed me that he had done so by six consecutive packet-boats. Wherefore I had reason to flatter myself that I would have been already long since reinforced with substantial aid, which would at least have placed these rivers beyond danger and enabled me to help the sufferers. For if the rebels be attacked in Berbice and we are unable to act here it will be a matter lasting years and involving nameless cost; if their retreat in this direction is unhindered the rebels will be able to form settlements everywhere in the up-river lands and so continually disturb us, becoming also

a refuge for our malcontent slaves, as the experience of Surinam testifies.

I learn to my sorrow from Your Honours' letter that YY. HH. imagine the danger will have passed over before the receipt of the same. Far is it from being so; the danger is as great, if not greater than it ever was. The Governor of Berbice is at his wits' end, and according to his last letter not able to hold out for more than another fortnight.

P.R.O. 471

December 21, 1763.

(Extract)

Being compelled to put off my reply to Your Honours' esteemed letter per "De Hoop" until the departure of "De Goede Verwachting," which is fixed for about the middle of January, and which vessel will take 50 hogsheads of sugar from Your Honours' plantations, I will let this serve only to accompany the copy of a letter[1] received last week from

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[1] Since Storm gives the gist of the letter its reproduction is unnecessary, but the following one from Gedney Clarke, Jr. (who was in London at the time), and its interesting enclosure, give a graphic description of this episode in the revolt.

P.R.O. 471/224

London, 20th March, 1764.

To the Honble. the Directors of the West India Company of Zeeland.

Gentlemen,

* I take the Liberty to inclose you an account of the Transactions at Demerary & at les Berbices in December last, by which you will find that the Rebell Negroes have been very roughly handled by our People from Demerary & that they are now between two Fires, so that I hope soon to hear they are all destroyed.

The Cargoe of the Ship Carolina Medioburgensis being 307 in number sold together I am informed @ f. 400 round, which is a great Price & should encourage the Gentlemen of Middelburg to send two other Ships to d'Elmina without the least delay for the use of our Colony & to raise a small Bank of Credit to enable People to purchase, but you Gentlemen are the best judges of these matters & I hope will

the Governor of Berbice, from which YY. HH. will see that His Honour is actually on the march to attack the rebels,

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take every necessary Step for the Interest & the advancement of those fertile Rivers*.

The cruel Rebellion at Berbices is no doubt by this time quelled & the Negroes of Demerary have been all along kept in awe by the Steadiness of the Inhabitants, for had they deserted their Habitations, as those of Berbices did that River & Essequebo would now have been in the Possession of those merciless Savages, who would undoubtedly have massacred all the White People that fell into their hands.

But thanks to God! We are all safe, and with your Permission, I would recommend a Speedy Way of securing that Colony for ever. It is no more than building a few Houses on Borssele Island in Demerary and a proper Battery there also with a Garison of 30 men & an officer. Upon that Island the Comandent should live & the Courts of Judicature held there and a small Church built with a House for the minister & the Ships should be ordered to lay there when they go into that River for Sugar. The remainder of the Land might afterwards be sold for the advantage of the Company, as many People would chuse to live there, especially Tradesmen & their Families, so that in a short time there would be a considerable Town raised there, well inhabited. This would keep the Negroes in proper Respect & in case of Warr would serve to defend the Colony. And the undertaking could be executed with ease, if you Gentlemen would give orders to employ your Negroes upon that service & lay a Tax to defray the Expenses and at the same time raise a Subscription for that Purpose.

I have nothing further to say but that I am with Respect, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient
and very humble servant,
GEDNEY CLARKE, JUNR.

P.R.O. 471/225

[Inclosure.]

Transactions in Rio Berbices and Dimerary from good authority which happened in December 1763.

Upon the Arrival of 3 men of War & some Merchant Ships the Governor of Berbices notwithstanding the 2 Battalions sent by the

* Elmina or St George del Mina, long a fortified seaport on the Gold Coast, West Africa, 10 miles W. of Cape Coast Castle, was formerly the capital of the Dutch possessions in Guinea. Founded by the Portuguese, under the name of São Jorge da Mina, in *1481*, it was taken by the Dutch in *1637* and ceded by them to the British in *1872*. Clarke's letter leaves no doubt as to the use to which the port was put.

and that in accordance with our arranged plan he had sent sixty men to Demerara to march overland and post

States were not yet come, thought himself at that juncture strong enough to attack the rebells & he found himself in some measure under y^e^ necessity of doing so before any infectious disorders got among the People.

A council of war was therefore called & it was determined to pursue the plan formerly laid down betwixt him and Governor Gravesande viz. to detach a body of men to Demerary from thence to march across the country to La Savonette Plantation in Berbices, where the Rebells thought themselves secure, to make themselves masters of that plantation & by that means to get the negroes between two fires.

In consequence of this Resolution a Detachment of 60 men arrived in Demerary the beginning of Dec^r^ they were joined by Cap^n^ Smith with his Barbados Volunteers sent by Mr Clarke for the Protection of the Colony & the Command of the Expedition was given to Capt^n^ Smith, whose bravery had been often tryed.

This little army sett off about the middle of Dec^r^ from the upper part of Rio Demerary & after a very fatigueing march of 5 days through that immence forest (trees only for their covering al night) they got to y^e^ bounderies of La Savonette, where Smith halted & sent forward two faithfull Indians to reconnitre, with orders to be upon their guard & at the same time to be as particular as possible...; These fellows went on & having mounted on a tree near the Plantation building they perceiv'd about 20 of the Rebells patrolling before their garrison & keeping centry. The remainder scatter'd about unarmed. They soon return'd & made their report, upon which Cap^n^ Smith formed his corps into three divisions, marching himself in the center & ordered them to give three huzzas, as soon as they got within gun shot of the Rebells & proceed to action. This was perform'd with courage & regularity & y^e^ Rebells perceiving them flew to their arms & made a bold resistance for some time being 150 in number, but Smith charged them so closely that they took to their heels & endeavoured to gain their canoes & so to pass the River, but it was too late our people kept up a constant fire upon them killed 64 & took 25 prisoners among whom were their Commander & a white man*, who had assisted the Rebells all along & was a deserter. In this action there was but one of our people wounded & that was a brave young Dutch officer† whose name is not mentioned. The

* Jean Renaud, a deserter from the Corentin. See Hartsinck, *Beschrijving van Guiana*, tom. i. p. 481.

† Hartsinck (*op. cit.*), though he gives a very full account of the whole rebellion and narrates this very action, makes no mention of a young Dutch officer with Captain Smith; Netscher's account of the affair is based on Hartsinck.

themselves on the "Savonnette" plantation. Captain Smith[1] has informed me that he will join the latter with thirty men of the English he has under him.

The Commander of Demerara left already on the eleventh of this month for the upper part of that river in order to guide the troops and to see after the transport of the provisions, &c.

At the present moment I have my house full of Caribs[2], who, having recently carried out a very successful expedition against the rebels, fetched another large party of their nation, and have now come to me for guns and ammunition. They are about to depart at once for Berbice in order to assist the whites, in which they can be of the utmost use, since they can look out for fugitives in the woods and so cut off all escape. I hope to be able to have the honour to give YY. HH. a full report in my next.

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remainder of the Rebells flew into the woods & must have been destroy'd; soon after the defeat Capt[n] Smith employed his prisoners with his own men to cast up a breastwork, which he soon rendered secure against 500 at least. Soon after this a sloop well armed as was concerted came up the River & joined Capt[n] Smith, so that the whole united Force of the Rebells cannot now dislodge them. The Governor of Les Berbices was to go up that River on 19th Dec[r] & if possible to be before Peerboom Plantation on 25th Idem where there is a pretty strong brick house on a rising ground to which the Rebells have brought most of their Ammunition, provision, &c., with an intention as it's said to defend themselves to the last extremity. The Governour will have with him 300 men besides the crews of the men of war & merchant men & the St Eustatia sloops, so that in all probability these wretches will soon be extirpated. The negroes that were taken at Savonette declared that the white man with them had frequently urged them to march across to Demerary & to attack that settlement, which they would have done had they not had intelligence of the English forces being in that river & of the arrival afterwards of y[e] troops sent by the Directors....

[1] Jacob Smith, in command of a company of men raised in Barbados.

[2] Cf. p. 445.

P.R.O. 472/1

February 29, 1764.

(Extracts)

It was a great pleasure to me that YY. HH. were good enough to approve of the conduct of my son-in-law and myself in the critical circumstances in which we were and I have the honour to thank YY. HH. very much for the present YY. HH. have been pleased to send me. The honour of obtaining Your Honours' approval and of doing my duty as an honest man is my highest aim, and that to which all my efforts, so far as the humble abilities bestowed upon me by the Most High allow, are directed. I hope to dwell further upon the state of affairs after I have answered Your Honours' esteemed letter.

In reply to Your Honours' enquiry respecting the English frigate I have the honour to say that upon the first news of the general rising in Berbice being brought by the fugitive colonists the Commander sent tidings of that grievous occurrence by my order to Mr Pinfold[1], Governor of Barbados, and to Mr Clarke, through a gentleman (Mr J. Wiltshire[2], now owning the plantation "De Diamant" in Demerara), who chanced to be in Demerara when these events took place in order to purchase the plantation of the late George Gascoigne and who under the circumstances immediately left. This was followed by the arrival of the aforesaid frigate and the further succour sent by Mr Clarke, which, after God, was the salvation of Demerara[3].

[1] Cf. p. 420. [2] This must have been R. Wiltshire of p. 421.

[3] It is strange to find, after this most handsome (and not the first—see pp. 421–423 and 433) acknowledgment of Clarke's services by Storm, that Count Bentinck writes as follows to Gedney Clarke, Jr. (then in London) on *May 25, 1764* (*Brit. Mus. Eg. MSS. 1720*):—"One thing which is surprising is that none of the Letters, from our colonys, mention a word of all your father has done, nor the obligations they are under towards him. This Silence must proceed

The Captain of the aforesaid frigate on his arrival told the Commander that if he asked the Governor of Barbados or Admiral Rodney for assistance in the name of Their High Mightinesses he had no doubt it would immediately be granted. If I remember rightly, copies of those letters are in the Commander's Diary which he had the honour to send YY. HH. from time to time. Direct assistance I never asked for[1], although I was on the point of doing so once, as I had the honour of informing YY. HH.

The treatment of slaves in this Colony is certainly more gentle and mild than in any other. The Court has regulated this as far as possible and I, for my part, have done as much as lies in my power to see they are not ill-treated and that they get what, according to law or ancient custom, is their due. But to my sorrow I find that all this is of little avail with that sort of folk and that this occasion has shown that those who were thought to be the most faithful and upon whom we should have most relied in case of need are not a jot better than the rest and, in spite of all benefits, thankless traitors. But a good conscience is the best jewel and it is a great satisfaction to have nothing with which to reproach oneself.

. . . . . .

The Indians whom I had encouraged, and who had already undertaken two successful expeditions to Berbice[2], being encouraged by this, came to my house on the 19th December, to the number of fully 100, inquiring into the state of the Colony[3]. I informed them, through the

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from ignorance (which is impossible) or from some other principle, which I had much rather not suspect, much less believe."—One wonders indeed where the *suppressio veri* took place—in Middelburg?

[1] This was strictly correct (cf. pp. 421–423).

[2] Cf. p. 443.

[3] The Governor of Berbice writes as follows on *Feb. 25*:—

"I am delighted with the zeal and care which Your Excellency continually manifests in urging the Indians to march towards our

medium of Mr van der Heyde, who understands their language thoroughly, both of the Governor's journey up the river and of the overland march of the detachment, at which they were very pleased, and, having been given a quantity of guns, powder, shot, and flints, they departed with a promise to set out for Berbice, and to keep a look-out for the fugitives in the forests and other places there.

. . . . . .

The new Governor of Orinoco has sent a trustworthy man here, bringing an assurance from his part that it is his intention to allow trade to be carried on with this river (but with absolutely no other). I had written to His Honour by an earlier messenger, but that letter had not yet reached the Governor when this man departed. I am writing to him again this week about six runaway slaves belonging to Mr Malgraef, who had fled in that direction, and also to warn him concerning the rebels of Berbice.

P.R.O. 472/32

April 9, 1764.

(Extracts)

I have the honour to send herewith the letters last received from Berbice, from which YY. HH. will see that affairs, God be praised, are beginning once more to take a tolerably satisfactory turn there, to which end our Caribs, both from these rivers and even from Barima, have loyally

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frontiers. This is really the means by which the country may be kept in order. If they all put forth their best efforts I doubt not that matters will end well, and when Demerary is protected by a war-ship I trust that Your Excellency will find no difficulty in sending the brave Caribs of Barima out upon our rebels."

done their best and are yet doing it, constantly roving about between the two Colonies, and having, through the Lord's blessing, been so successful in all their expeditions as to have lost none of their own people; this makes them bold and enterprising beyond habit and expectation, yea, even reckless, and these occurrences cause a great embitterment between the blacks and them, which, if well and reasonably stimulated, cannot fail to be of much use and service in the future to the Colonies.

. . . . .

I have just been disturbed by a body of Caribs collected by Your Honours' creole Veth (who, had I employed him in the beginning, would have been of immense service beyond all expectations). About six weeks ago I sent him up the river, and now he comes back with such a band that I must declare that I have never seen so many Indians together before. My house is so full that no one can get through, and this, too, is the smallest portion, the other lot having gone overland to Demerary to wait for these, who have asked me for only twelve rifles, powder, and shot for the Chiefs, which I have given them; they are leaving for Berbice to-day with letters from me, in order that they may be employed there as may be found necessary.

. . . . .

This body of Indians is wholly from the River Mazaruni. I had never supposed or been able to suppose that such a number of Caribs lived in that river alone. It is quite true that at the beginning of the last war but one I once had their number taken *grosso modo*, and it then amounted to 1100 men capable of bearing arms; but this was the whole jurisdiction of the Company, from Abary to Barima. But now I find that I did not have the fourth part, or else they must have increased extraordinarily.

It will be of interest to reproduce here, in its chronological place, a letter[1] *addressed by Storm to Gedney Clarke, Jr., then on a visit to Europe, one of the very few private communications that we have from the pen of the Director-General.*

Rio Demerary, 23 Avril 1764[2]

Monsieur,

Ce matin 23 Avril j'ai recu votre tres agreable Lettre du 13 Fevrier, qui m'a fait infiniment du plaisir. Premierement parce qu'il m'est toujours agreable d'avoir l'honneur de recevoir de vos nouvelles; en second lieu parceque c'est la premiere nouvelle que nous recevons de l'arrivée du Capitaine Stoffel Different, que je souhaitois beaucoup d'apprendre; parceque par cette occasion j'ai ecrit une Lettre extremement longue et circonstantiée à Messieurs les Directeurs sur l'etat de notre colonie.

Quoique accablé d'affaires ne faisant que d'arriver depuis 3 ou 4 jours à Demerary, où nous avons presentement un vaisseau de guerre de l'Etat, nommé le Zephir, Capitaine van Oyen, et que le sac de lettres du Vaisseau Negrier de Mons^{r} de Bruyn se ferme apres demain; je n'ai cependant pu laisser echapper cette occasion sans vous marquer la reception de votre lettre et vous faire mille remerciments pour les livres que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer. Je suis curieux de voir ce que Mr de Bellin dit de nos quartiers, dont je n'ai pas grande opinion; car ne faisant que l'ouvrir en le recevant, je vis d'abord quelques fautes assez grandes sur le sujet de notre côte.

[1] This document, together with others from which extracts are given on pp. 421–423, 426, 427, 433, 444 and 445, forms a series relating to the Berbice revolt in a collection known as the *Bentinck Papers* (*British Museum, Egerton MSS.*). A reprint (somewhat lacking in precision) of a portion of the series was published in vol. ii. (New Series) of *Timehri, 1888*, through the instrumentality of Mr N. Darnell Davis.

[2] This is a faithful reproduction of the copy, which is not in Storm's handwriting.

J'ai le plaisir de vous marquer que la Rebellion des Berbices est finie. Dieu merci on commence à se remettre chacun sur son plantage. On a deja fait une terrible execution. 32 Rebelles pendus, 18 roués vifs apres avoir eté tenaillés, avec des Tenailles rougies au feu, et 8 brulés vifs. Cela me semble un peu trop cruel. Il y a encore une cinquantaine des plus coupables dans les fers. Nos Caraïbes ont eté d'un Service considerable dans cette affaire, et ne sauroit etre assez loués de leur fidelité et Bravoure dans cette occasion. J'y ai encore actuellement un corps de 95 hommes de cette nation, qui sont occupés à fureter les Bois et les Savannes pour prendre et assomer le reste des fuyarts.

Je n'ai jamais cru que Berbices eut une si grande quantité d'esclaves. Ils ont passé le nombre de sept mille ; et notre Essequebo et Demerary ensemble n'en peuvent tout au plus avoir cinq mille. N'est ce pas une honte pour une Colonie si etendue et si fertile? Quoiqu'on nous fasse accroire, il n'y a guerre d'apparance que cela change avant la Majorité du Prince d'Orange[1]. Cependant on me marque que cette année meme la Navigation va etre rendue libre[2]. Nous verons ce qui en sera. Cela a duré si longtems et on a tant promis que je commence à douter de tout.

Les Negres de ce Vaisseau[3] ont eté vendus a un prix exorbitant ; f. 400 et f. 450 etait l'ordinaire et plusieurs meme ont eté et passé meme les f. 600 par tête. Un peu auparavant un vaisseau de la Compagnie de commerce de Middelbourg fut obligé de s'en aller avec ses esclaves sans en vendre aucun ; parceque Mons^r Spoors ne vouloit pas les prendre à son risque, et que le capitaine ne vouloit point vendre autrement.

Le croiriez vous, Monsieur? et cependant il n'y a rien

[1] See p. 548, Note 3. [2] See pp. 143-145.
[3] Meaning, those that came by the vessel taking this letter.

de plus vrai ; ce Vaisseau de Mr de Bruyn auroit eté obligé et etoit pret pour la meme raison de s'en aller avec ses esclaves a Curacao, si je ne m'y etois opposé de tout mon pouvoir en faisant d'abord assembler le conseil, et leur remontrant que si ce vaisseau partoit sans vendre nous n'aurions aparament de dix années un autre et que par consequent la colonie seroit ruïnée. Je fis tant par mes discours et persuasions qu'on resolut que la colonie en general prendroit la moitié à ses risques, et l'autre moitié a celle de Monsr Spoors ; et ainsi la vente s'est faite.

Voila ce que s'est que Messrs les directeurs ont permi a Monsr Spoors comme Vendue Maitre, de prendre les Vendues a ses risques ou non, comme il lui plairoit ; et voila la veritable raison pourquoi nous avons eté tant d'années sans esclaves ; car les marchands ne veulent pas risquer leur capital si legerement, et ils ont raison.

Il n'y a pas ùn seul vendu maitre dans toute notre Republique et son ressort, qui aye ce Privilege, et je ne comprends pas pour quelle raison on l'a accordé. Puisqu'un vendu maitre court point ou fort peu de risque ; puisqu'il a selon nos loix le privilege de preference et d'execution directe sur ceux qui manquent au payement au tems fixé.

Mais je vous entretiens trop longtems sur ces Bagatelles. J'ay eté obligé d'ouvrir enfin mon coeur et d'écrire à Messieurs les Directeurs naturellement et sans compliments ; et comme j'avois insisté sur ma demission, j'ai envoyé par Stoffel Different mon rapport sur l'Etat des affaires ou j'ai parlé assez fortement ; et voila pourquoi j'ai appris son arrivé avec plaisir.

Et je suis d'autant plus content d'en avoir agi de cette maniere qu'on mecrit de la Haye que LL. HH. PP.[1] avoient

[1] Leurs Hautes Puissances = Their High Mightinesses the States-General.

demandés toutes mes Lettres ecrites aux Directeurs depuis le commencement de rebellion des Berbices ; dont j'ai deja vu l'effet; puisqu'il a plu à L. H. P. dans un Art. de l'instruction du commandant en chef des Troupes de l'Etat à Berbices d'ordonner d'agir en tout de concert avec moi.

Ainsi je me flatte que ces Lettres auront un tres bon effet.

L'expedition du Brave Smith[1] a réussi au dessus de l'attente, non seulement par la destruction d'une bonne partie de Rebelles, mais d'autant plus que sans le savoir, elle a selon toutes les apparances sauvé Demerary. Car son detachement a justement tombé sur le corps d'une Troupe de Rebelles qui etoient assemblés dans cet endroit pour marcher vers et attaquer Demerary ayant deux grandes canailles de Blancs (deserteurs l'un de Berbices l'autre de Suriname) a leur tête. Aussi au retour de cette Expedition notre colonie lui a fait un present de mille florins.

J'ai oublié de vous marquer qu'on a contracté avec le Capitaine Bouwers pour une nouvelle armaison d'Esclaves, pour le plutot qu'il lui sera possible, ainsi je crois que nous n'en manquerons plus tant. Pressez je vous prie Mons^r de Bruyn[2] pour hater son depart vers la cote de Guinée.

J'ecrirai la semaine prochaine a Persik pour des Mules pour votre plantage. Je suis surpris qu'on n'en a pu avoir ; il n'y a qu'environ 3 semaines qu'il en a recu 26, et qu'il en est encore arrivé par d'autres. Je crains bien qu'il ne soyent deja vendus. S'ils ne le sont pas vous pouvez etre assuré que vous en aurez ; et s'ils le sont, j'aurai soin que vous aurez des premiers qui viendront.

J'ordonnerai au maitres des postes de faire faire d'abord le menage Indiens que vous me faites l'honneur de me

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[1] See Note on pp. 442 and 443.

[2] See p. 458.

demander, et des qu'il sera pret je l'enverai à Monsieur de Bruyn, pour vous le faire parvenir.

J'espere par une autre occasion d'avoir l'honneur de vous ecrire plus amplement, etant a present accablé d'affaires. Le Commandeur[1] est fort malade.

J'ai l'honneur d'étre

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.R.O. 472/44

Demerara, May 12, 1764.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

It has pleased Almighty God, in accordance with His eternal and immutable decree, to call my dear son-in-law, Laurens Lodewijk van Berch Eyck[2], in life Commander of this river, from this temporal to His Eternal Kingdom on the third of this month at the age of full thirty-three years, to the great grief of his sorrowing widow and three young children, and mine, whose support and right hand he always was[3]. His illness was naught else than exhaustion

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[1] L. L. van Bercheyck, Commander of Demerara. Cf. next despatch.

[2] See p. 335.

[3] Eight months later Bercheyck's widow had to remind the Directors of her existence by the following letter:—

P.R.O. 472/94

January 28, 1765.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

I trust YY. HH. will kindly excuse the liberty I take in writing, for I deem it a widow's privilege to pour her heart out to the fathers of her dead husband and consequently hers, as I make bold to call Your Honours.

Truly, YY. HH., it pains me to my soul to see that my dear husband appears to be quite forgotten, after having served YY. HH. so faithfully and zealously, even to the prejudice of my three young children and myself, as I can prove to YY. HH., and that only in hopes of being

and complete loss of strength, and the eighteen days that it lasted was one gradual decline until his life went out like a candle. I can truly say that he is a great loss to this river, for we shall not easily get another who will be so heart and soul in the work and so indefatigable night and day in its performance, even greatly to his own prejudice, as I perceive now that I am upon his plantation. May I entreat YY. HH. to take into consideration, when choosing a successor to the deceased, the circumstances of this river, for its growth, success or total ruin will greatly depend upon Your Honours' choice.

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rewarded after those troublous times. Humanly speaking, the commandership was alone the cause of his death. To be commander, commandant, secretary, assistant and warehouse-master, in a river much more populous than Essequibo—was it, YY. HH., possible for a human being to undertake all this alone without sinking under the burden, and that for twenty guilders per month? I can testify upon my honour that since the critical events in Berbice and as long as I was with my husband he did not pass an hour unoccupied, much less enjoy a night's rest. Nay, did I not myself (especially when vessels were about to sail) have to act as clerk for him in copying (letters, manifests, &c.) in order to help him get finished, and do as much as was in my power? And I have moreover suffered loss on the plantation, which has gone back very much through the slaves being constantly sent hither and thither, for it frequently happened that not more than one negro was left upon it. When the new manager arrived upon the plantation he assured me that I had suffered more than four thousand guilders' loss; the coffee shrubs were so neglected that he had to cut down quite half of them. In addition to this my husband was to have measured Wacquenam and Varken Islands if he had not been so constantly detained in Demerara.

. . . . .

Further I have the honour to commend my children and myself to Your Honours' protection and to be

Your Honours' humble and obedient servant,

MARIA CATHARINA STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE,

WIDOW VAN BERCH EYCK.

One year after writing the above the widow thanks the Directors for six hundred guilders (fifty pounds); the document is appended

For I, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, cannot flatter myself that I shall be able to do much more for it; my years, my poor health, sorrow, vexations and constant opposition in addition to the burden which is now about to fall entirely upon me, without the least help, make me weary of my office, of the country, yea, even of life itself.

I beg that it may not be taken amiss if I write no further. It is only with great trouble that I have got so far, wherefore I am obliged to conclude this with assurances that I shall always be with deep respect and esteem,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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in its entirety as a proof of its existence, but the italicized words are italicized in the translation only. More pointed comment is needless.

P.R.O. 472/195

Rio Essequibo, January 3, 1766.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

In accordance with Your Honours' gracious permission I have taken the liberty of drawing upon YY. HH. for the *six hundred guilders* (which YY. HH. were kind enough to present me *for the faithful services of my late dearly beloved husband*) to the order of my father-in-law, Major van Berch Eyck, who will for that amount have some pieces of silver made as a lasting memorial of Your Honours' kindness and approval of my husband's conduct in Your Honours' service.

Assuring YY. HH. once more of my heartfelt gratitude and commending myself to Your Honours' protection I have the honour to be with deep respect, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' humble and obedient servant,

MARIA CATHARINA STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE,

WIDOW VAN BERCH EYCK.

P.R.O. 472/46

Demerara, May 24, 1764.

(Extracts)

That the interests of the colonies must be subordinate to those of the mother country is so self evident a principle that I do not think it is possible for anyone to doubt it[1]. If both can be brought into agreement everything must go on prosperously and that is the case in this matter.

The larger the quantity of produce is, the better it is for the shipping interests and for those of the planter too. The produce must unconditionally be sent to the mother country and to no foreign places; this should be a hard and fast rule, as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. But as there is no rule, however general, without an exception, this applies here, too, to the syrup and kiltum.

It were desirable that a market for these articles could be found in the mother country, and that we could avoid sending them to North America, but the subject has already been so much discussed and it has been so clearly shown to be impracticable as matters still stand, that it is not yet to be thought of.

. . . . .

It gives me great satisfaction that YY. HH. have graciously granted me full permission to speak my mind openly concerning the interests of the Honble. Co. and the Colony. I am fully acquainted with the respect I owe YY. HH.; it is not for me to act in any sense contrary thereto and I hope I shall always bear it in mind. But, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, if sometimes my zeal for Your Honours' service has caused some hard expressions to fall from my pen I humbly ask for pardon, assuring YY. HH. that such was never done with disrespectful feelings or intentions but out of true zeal and

[1] The accepted "Colonial Policy." Storm develops this theme a little later. Cf. p. 480.

without premeditation in the stress of business, it having ever been my wont, as long as I have the honour of serving YY. HH., to proceed *goed rond goed zeeuws*[1] and without circumlocution, and up to the present I have had the good fortune never to have incurred the resentment of my lords and masters thereby.

It was also very gratifying to me that YY. HH. were pleased with my report respecting the Posts; these are or can be of very great use and advantage to the Honble. Co. as they were of old when the annatto dye was of some importance. If the Almighty grants me health I hope to have the honour of writing circumstantially to YY. HH. concerning that matter, the time being now much too short, the vessel about to sail, and my hands so full of Demerara affairs, especially since the illness and death of my dear son-in-law, that I have not a moment's rest and I even fear, however much I hurry, that I shall not be able to finish my reply to Your Honours' esteemed letters.

. . . . . .

Lieutenant-Captain Bakker has just arrived with a letter from Mr Spoors. It is lamentable, YY. HH., to have so much put upon one; I ought indeed to have two bodies and yet it is impossible for me to be here and in Essequibo at the same time. I cannot understand why the Councillors there are unwilling to transact business of any importance under Mr Spoors' presidency except to annoy me. I have the honour to send YY. HH. my indictment of the Adjutant Adami upon a complaint lodged by Mr van Oyen concerning fresh outrages committed by him; the Court refuses to pass judgment and demands that I must come and preside in person. Is this not enough to make one lose all patience? Now I must, whether I will or not, go to Essequibo and then return here, for my presence here is urgently required

[1] See p. 429.

and my weak body can really no longer endure such fatigue. What am I to do? I must exercise patience, *nolens volens.*

P.R.O. 472/55

June 21, 1764.

(Extract)

Upon my return home [from Demerara] I found, to my great sorrow, that Mr Spoors has almost lost his sight and that he can see very little. As his eyes themselves show no traces of anything being wrong I am afraid that it will be difficult and perhaps impossible to cure him. This grievous occurrence, in addition to the loss of my son-in-law and the inexperience of the Assistant Milborn (although a very good, industrious and zealous youth) brings such a whirl of matters upon me that I see no getting through them and scarcely know where to begin or where to end. Everything falls upon my shoulders now, but I hope with the Lord's blessing to do as much as possible, if not in one week, then in two or three. The Assistant Loof (now Commander *ad interim*) has also so much to do in Demerara that he could use two or three bodies, and he cannot possibly be spared there.

P.R.O. 472/61

August, 1764.

(Extracts)

My two last to YY. HH. were by "D'Essequebo Planter," Captain Deneke. Whilst writing the last of them I had a visit from Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas[1], who having been here and in Demerara fully three weeks, returned to Berbice on the 13th. He confirmed the reports that everything

[1] See p. 391.

was now quiet at the latter place and that the rebellion was quite crushed; but according to the unanimous reports of the Indians a few rebels are still holding out very far up the Berbice river, where the Caribs have promised to go in search of them, and while I am writing my house is actually full of that nation. It looks now-a-days as if it rained Indians and although they give me much trouble they have to be treated with consideration and kindness.

. . . . .

Some time ago there was sent me from Barbados a small pamphlet, being a short treatise concerning plantership[1], an excellent little work of its kind and fully worthy the attention of all planters. Thinking that it might be of great service to our colonies I translated it into our mother tongue during odd moments of leisure.

But there being a great difference alone in planting the cane and working the land in the English Antilles and here I appended a few necessary remarks and also wrote briefly concerning other products, adding in elucidation a plan of a newly laid out plantation.

I am sending it by this ship with a request to my correspondent[2] to have it printed if the cost be not too high. I have also taken the liberty of dedicating it to YY. HH. as my lords and masters and the fathers of this Colony; this I hope YY. HH. will not take amiss. It was my intention to send with it a much more extensive work[3] concerning this Colony, but some necessary facts relating to the population, dates, limits, etc., being wanting, and my endless duties pressing upon me, especially now that I am quite alone and without the least assistance, I am compelled to keep this back for

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[1] See p. 460.

[2] Every planter had his correspondent or business agent in the home country. Storm's was one Pieter de Bruijn, in Middelburg (cf. pp. 413, 481 and 482).

[3] See p. 460.

the present. The copies of my letters sent to YY. HH. by Capt. Deneken I had to have written by my eldest daughter, the widow of the Commander of Demerara, for there was no getting through my work, and the more so now by reason of the lamentable misfortune of Mr Spoors, whose eyes, as I write, are still in the same sad state.

And truly, Your Honours, it is difficult to understand with what difficulties I am on all sides beset. Old and infirm myself, Mr Spoors half blind, Loof in Demerara (where I do not think he will stay very long, his wife disliking that river so greatly that she will listen to no reason), Milborn (a good young man he seems up to now but) inexperienced and slow, the Commander of Demerara, my greatest help, gone, I leave it to YY. HH. to imagine how I am placed.

If I can write twenty lines of this despatch without being obliged to leave it I may consider myself lucky.

. . . . .

P.S.—I have this week given orders to remove the Post Arinda four days' journey higher, at the mouth of the River Ripenuwini [Rupununi], so that the Post will now be about 100 hours from Fort Zeelandia. I have also given orders for going up the Essequibo, which has not yet been done, in order to visit the numerous and powerful tribe called Tarouma[1], and, if possible, to discover the source of the Essequibo.

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[1] This exploration of the Essequibo was never undertaken under Storm's régime, for Jansse's expedition of *1769* (see pp. 616–620) was more to the west, and we actually get no further news of the Taroumas until Robert Schomburgk (*J.R.G.S.* vol. x. pp. 168, 169, 172; vol. xv. p. 42) visits their settlements in *1837*, he being, as both he and his brother Richard assure us (*Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, ii. p. 388), the first European to do so.

im Thurn (*Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 163) suggests that the tribe reached its present position from the south, by way of the Rio Negro.

In the preceding despatch Storm mentions "a short treatise concerning plantership" sent over by the same ship and "a much more extensive work concerning this Colony" which he holds back owing to "endless duties pressing" upon him[1]. *Yet, in spite of all this, he was able already in August to fulfil the hope expressed in his letter of May 24, of "writing circumstantially" concerning the Posts, for with the despatch sent that month he encloses the important treatise that follows.*

P.R.O. 472/63

A Brief Treatise concerning the Honourable Company's Trading-places[2].

The Honourable West India Company has within the jurisdiction of this Colony four different Posts or trading-places—viz., one in the Creeks of Maheyka and Macaurni (generally called Maykouny[3]), one above Essequibo, one in Cuyuni, and one in the Creeks Wacquepo and Moruka.

1. That in Maheyka and Maykouny lies about eight hours up the Creek, which is situated between Berbice and Demerary, about seven hours eastward above Demerary.

This district is mostly inhabited by the Garouna tribe, called by us Warouws[4], who nearly all have their houses standing on piles in the morasses. They support themselves entirely by hiring themselves out for work to the whites, being good workmen (but very dishonest), or by

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[1] In spite of a diligent search instituted at Middelburg, The Hague and Amsterdam, these two treatises have not been discovered. The second may possibly have reached Hartsinck, the historian of Dutch Guiana, through Storm's friend, Professor Allamand, for in the Preface to the *Beschrijving van Guiana* (*1770*) Hartsinck says, "Nor can I refrain from expressing my gratitude to a learned friend...for detailed information concerning the discoveries made in the Colony of Essequibo and the adjoining rivers by order of Governor Storm van 's Gravesande."

[2] See *Note* on p. 192.

[3] Mahaicony.

[4] See p. 343.

making boats. This, and the salting of fish in the dry season, together with keeping possession between the two Colonies, is the entire use of this Post, where there are only two men to keep an eye upon the runaway slaves either from this or other Colonies.

At the time that the trade in annatto dye was still of some importance, this Post furnished a considerable quantity, because the men supported themselves by making boats and the women occupied themselves with the cultivation and preparation of the dye, for which they could get what was necessary; but, when this trade fell away, they left it off entirely, and neglected or pulled up most of the shrubs. The boats are, therefore, most important and necessary for the Colony, which cannot dispense with them.

If there were no Post here, the Indians would soon be driven away by the tyranny and improper treatment of the settlers.

There is also a great deal of timber, called "jitima" (a kind of mahogany), much of which is made into planks for use, and which can be transported in rafts.

2. The Post above Essequibo, called Arinda, of entirely different importance, lies about seventy hours (at a guess, because it has never been exactly measured) above Fort Zeelandia, up the River Essequibo, and, as it is thought, at about four degrees and a few minutes' latitude north.

To get to that Post, several falls, some of them very large, have to be passed; they are not really very dangerous for those who have in their boats Indians who know the way, and accidents are seldom or never heard of, the few which happen being due to men's own faults, drunkenness or the like.

The trade carried on there has hitherto consisted in red slaves and in Acuway and Ataray[1] dyes, which, although

[1] Although Storm makes only this single reference to the Atorai tribe there is little doubt that already in his time it was in close touch

very pretty to look at, have, up to the present, not been of any use.

Although the trade in red slaves might be made very profitable, it contributes but little to the importance of this Post, because, in addition to the latter being of great service in keeping up the communication and friendship with the inland tribes, by means of which great discoveries might be made, it should also be stated that not very far above the Post two other rivers (called Sibarouna and Rupununi, the first of which is not yet very well known) fall into the River Essequibo.

But the second having a very extensive course, there is a place a few days' journey above the Post where, by having the boat dragged for about three hours across a low and marshy land, we come into the Creek Meejou[1], also called Maho, which flows into the Rio Branco, and the latter into the Rio Negro, which, falling into the Amazon, can make communication with that great river easy[2].

Up in Rupununi there are found whole woods of cocoa, some of which has been brought down on various occasions,

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with the Colony, for Humboldt (*Op. cit.* ii. p. 684) reports that in *1775* it was found dwelling between the Rupununi, the Mahu and the Pacaraima chain, whilst we have it in the Dutch records that in *1778* an Atorai chief named Taumaii received a certificate of friendship at Essequibo from Storm's successor, G. H. Trotz (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 135).

Richard Schomburgk states that his brother found Atorais in large numbers during his journey to the source of the Essequibo in *1837* (*Op. cit.* ii. p. 388) but six years later their villages had disappeared (Robert Schomburgk's Reports—*J.R.G.S.* xv. pp. 26 and 33); McTurk, however, found some at the head of the Rupununi in *1870* (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* ii. pt. 3, p. 3), Barrington Brown reports some self-styled chiefs living on that river in *1877* (*Canoe and Camp Life*, pp. 313, 314) and McTurk again finds some south of it in *1901* (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* ii. pt. 3, p. 2).

[1] This, in Dutch, has the sound of Mayow. The river is visited by an emissary of Storm's in *1769* (see p. 617).

[2] Cf. with a letter written to the Commandant of Guayana, *June 9, 1758* (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 147).

and found to be as good as any other, and of which the monkeys and other animals now get the benefit.

Also, whole woods of wild cinnamon trees, which are as yet turned to little account, being, by reason of their mixed smell of cinnamon and cloves called *Canella groffiata*; but this is due to the fact that no bark is brought down, except of very large and old trees, it being not yet long since a trial was made of cultivating the trees in Brazil, and the second bark of young trees, three or four years old, taken and found as good as that of Ceylon, mention of which is made in the proceedings of scientific Societies, and is confirmed by those who occasionally come here from thence.

In the same river, the great and famous, and, hitherto, so little known, crystal mine is of little importance in itself; but the unanimous testimony of writers concerning the precious minerals and all the corroborative reports of the Spaniards from far up the Orinoco prove that this crystal mine is the mother of the emerald, which, being found there, and there only, can also be turned to profitable account.

The Essequibo itself, though remaining equally wide and large, is unknown a few days above the Post (which is a remarkable fact), no one having gone in this direction, which, I believe, to be due to the fact that the itinerant traders (ignorant folk, and mostly like the Indians themselves) resemble sheep and follow each other, without troubling themselves about discoveries or advantages which are still uncertain.

In accordance with the course of this river, which runs from south to east and south-south-east, it is thought, with some reason, that its source cannot be far from the Amazon, and that it perhaps even communicates with that river.

On a great savannah next to the river is the likewise famous, and so little known, pyramid, the existence of

which is certain, all the Indians, without exception, confirming the same, though they are unable to give more than a rough description by reason of their being, through a deep-rooted superstition, afraid to approach it, saying it is the dwelling of the "Jaavaho" (the Devil is so called by them), and the itinerant traders, as superstitious as they, have as little courage to do so, whereby one can judge what kind of people they are.

Up in the river, on the banks of the same, but a good way up, there dwells the numerous tribe of the Manoas, here called Magnouws, much feared by the other tribes, and which, in the time of the late Commander de Heere, was so injudiciously and childishly driven away, badly treated, and for ever estranged from us, that the efforts made to enter into communication with it have hitherto proved fruitless—a political dodge of the Carib nation of which it would be thought incapable. The Portuguese in Brazil are indebted to this tribe for the discovery of the gold and diamonds. I have heard and read a good deal of this, but have had it corroborated by Mr del Torres de Bandeyra, the second person in Brazil[1], when he came to lodge with me a few years ago on fleeing from Brazil on account of some dispute with the Bishop of Pernambuco, and who departed, viâ Barbados and London, for Lisbon, and thence proceeded, according to what he wrote me, back to Brazil in his former capacity, the Bishop being called home.

It is now easy to understand of what importance this Post may become if it be entrusted to intelligent and diligent folks; but that is the defect, such being unprocurable here. It is as though there were a curse upon it; people who here appear to be diligent, zealous, and industrious are not a year there before they are like Indians.

[1] Cf. pp. 414 and 614.

I say appear, for those who are really so by nature, and have a reasonable judgment, are not spoiled so quickly, especially as there is so fine a chance there for making a fortune. It is known that gold dust was brought thence in former days, and de la Chau, in his journey through Demerary to Essequibo two years ago[1], found a few grains of it. Our itinerant trader, Jan Stok, has been so far up the river that he has seen the Missions of the Portuguese, but did not dare to approach them through a childish fear so common amongst the Indian traders.

It is indisputable that many discoveries of great importance might be made in that direction if things were well and properly managed. The costs necessary for the same would not be so great as might be supposed at a first glance. A good deal could be done with 1000 rix-dollars if only we had capable folks.

The unsuccessful journey of Nicolaas Horstman[2], sent up that river in the year 1740, would have been of great advantage if he had not been a scoundrel, and had followed his instructions instead of running away with his merchandise to the Portuguese, in going whither he took the road of Rupununi, and of whom Mr de la Condamine speaks[3] in his journey of the Amazon, which journey he also uses as a proof of the non-existence of the Lake of Parima. Strange as it may seem, it is known but little, or not at all, that the great river of Massaruni, lying between the Essequibo and the Cuyuni, runs due south-west into the interior of these lands; that it is by no means so dangerous in falls as the two others, there being only one place where it runs under a very large rock about a few miles long, at a guess, navigated and found to be without danger by the colonist

[1] See pp. 80, 413, 593 and 594.
[2] For this episode, see pp. 61–63 and 167–174.
[3] See pp. 62, 167 and 539.

C. Finet. The colonist E. Pijpersberg is the only man, to my knowledge, who has been any great distance up the river, in pursuit of thirteen of his runaway slaves, whom he got back, too, from a tribe which had never seen a white man, and which refused him admittance to its land, he having got his slaves back through the medium of a free Indian known to that tribe, and by means of payment in merchandise. The aforesaid Pijpersberg has assured me that on the left-hand side in going up the river he saw a very large pyramid[1], which he would have liked to examine, but dared not leave his captive slaves.

3. The third Post was on the River of Cuyuni[2], which river, like that of Massaruni, mostly stretches in a straight south-westerly direction, after having first run for some miles in a westerly one; according to the unanimous testimony of the Indians, these rivers, Massaruni and Cuyuni, have their source in a large lake or inland sea, as the Indians call it, which lake is inclosed by high mountains, inhabited by vast numbers of Indians, who, through fear of the Spaniards, allow no strangers to come into their country, it being related that already two detachments of Spaniards sent into those parts to make discoveries have been beaten and massacred. Whether this lake is the lake of Parima[3] or that of Cassipa is not yet known.

Now, this Post was, as is known, attacked in the year [[4]] in a treacherous manner, contrary to the law of nations, and contrary to all Treaties, by the Spaniards of Guayana, with a detachment of 100 men, the Postholder and his assistant being taken prisoners to Guayana, and shortly after to Cumaná, the buildings at the Post being destroyed and burnt. The reasons that they had for such unlawful proceedings must be best known to themselves, because they

[1] For references to this and other "pyramids" see Index, p. 689.
[2] For references to the history of this Post see Index, p. 677.
[3] What Lake Parima really was may be seen on pp. 182, 183, 186.
[4] There is a gap in the original. It was in *1758* (see p. 356).

can have not the very least shadow of a claim to possession, or it must have been the chimerical pretensions of the priests in these parts that the whole of America belongs to His Catholic Majesty, and that all other nations hold possession merely *precario*, and by permission.

So that they must have had entirely different reasons, and which must be of great consideration to authorize such an excess—which reasons can very well be guessed, but not being as yet certain about them, I will pass over them in silence. The same reasons which made the Post of Arinda above Essequibo of importance and utility also exists here. In addition to this, there is also the fact that [the bend of] this river is a tract of land along which the Spaniards spread themselves from year to year, and gradually come closer by means of their Missions, the small parties sent out by them coming close to the place where the Honourable Company's indigo plantation stood, and being certain to try and establish themselves if they are not stopped in time. Guayana, or Orinoco, has now become a Government, and the new Governor has brought orders, and is actually at work, to abandon and to break down the town or village[1] in Orinoco, and to bring it a few days' journey higher up the river, by doing which and on account of the ramifications of the two rivers, he is brought much nearer the River Cuyuni. This immense work and the heavy expense are not undertaken without some important and certain aim.

That the River Cuyuni is full of mines is pretty certain both from the unanimous testimony of the Indians, and from the fact that the waters of this river, which have been stagnant amongst the mountains, are found to be undrinkable, and even, to some extent, poisonous, at the end of the dry season and when the rains begin. They are then exceedingly unwholesome, and full of verdigris.

[1] S. Thomé was in *1764* (when Storm wrote) removed to its present site, called Angostura, and afterwards Ciudad Bolivar.

The copper-mine in the Blue Mountain is well known, but besides this it is seen that the Indians have silver collars, which they make themselves, and which, according to their words, they get from the mountains. Many stones are found there full of arsenical matter and every appearance of rich metal. In the year 1758 a rich silver-mine would have been discovered had it not been for the treasonable conduct of a Company's half-free creole, who was consequently made a slave, and who is now actually at work at Fort Zeelandia.

We must have no expectations of getting information concerning any mines from the Indians. The common people themselves know nothing of them, and it is only the Chiefs and the Elders, who carefully keep the same secret, and make the other Indians believe that the Jawaho or Devil lives in those places, by which they are frightened from approaching those places.

This is caused by the harsh treatment of the Spaniards, the first discoverers, who, by making them work in the mines, have sent many thousands of these people to the other world. Our itinerant traders, as superstitious as the Indians themselves, are also very careful not to come near those places.

This Post is also very necessary to stop the slaves running away to the Spaniards, this being the nearest way.

4. There now remains only the Post situated on the sea-coast between Essequibo and Orinoco, in the Creeks Wacquepo and Moruka, not far below the River Pomeroon, which creeks have an inland communication by water[1] with Pomeroon, as also with the River Waini, which has one with the River Barima, which are all navigable in the rainy season, and thus of very great use in furthering commerce both with the Indians and with the Spaniards, all who do not sail in

[1] Cf. Notes on pp. 322 and 663.

very large ships having to pass the Post on their journey to or from Orinoco. The trade of that Post formerly consisted mostly in boats and annatto dye, of which last it used to yield a very large quantity, though now it sends none at all.

The boats which come from there are by far the best and most durable, being manufactured by the Warouws, who inhabit the islands in the mouth of the Orinoco.

The most important use of this Post consists in—

i. Keeping possession of that district.

ii. Stopping and catching the slaves who try to run away from this Colony to Orinoco, and who mostly pass this way.

iii. Providing the Indians who are required both by the Honourable Company's plantations as well as by private colonists to go salting, most of those who live under this Post being good sailors and used to navigation.

iv. Providing the necessary boats.

The holder of this Post could make a large fortune if he was a man to look after his own interests, because, in addition to the trade with the Indians in hammocks, boats, salt-fish, slaves, and other Indian merchandise, which is not without good profit, all the Spaniards who come here with mules, cattle, tobacco, hides, tallow, dried meat, &c., pass the Post, and stop there for a few days to refresh themselves and rest their animals. If he kept a stock of the things that the Spaniards required, the latter would be very pleased to buy them there, and would not come further. This fact it is easy to grasp.

Some years ago one de Scharde (who had been a ship-broker in Amsterdam), an honest and sensible man, had been in command there only about two years when he died[1].

[1] Jan de Scharde figures on the Muster-Roll for *1748* as the post-holder at Wacquepo (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. p. 161): Aegidius de Scharde in the Registers (see p. 400) as the owner of "Hamptor Court."

Having brought nothing when he came, he left behind him a widow, who first laid out a plantation with a good number of slaves in Demerara, and bequeathed it free of debt to her son.

In order immediately to derive more real benefit, and to have reason to expect great advantages in the future from the different Posts, and especially from the three last mentioned there should (*salvo meliori*):—

Firstly, be appointed as commanders specially diligent and industrious folk who have good sound judgment, are of good behaviour, and are by no means drunkards. Such are not to be got here, and through the bad behaviour of the Postholders that office has fallen into such contempt that when the afore-mentioned de Scharde was Postholder and I gave him a seat at my table as being a respectable man and of good conduct, several Councillors said they would not come and dine with me again. However ridiculous such empty pride was, especially as the same gentlemen placed their foremen, salters, and workmen right next to me at table when I called at their houses, it yet shows to what extreme degree of contempt those Postholders have fallen.

If I had been able to get more like de Scharde or had been able to keep him longer that would soon have been altered, but until now it has always gone amiss, just as this self-same month I have given the Postholder of Arinda a rifle to carry and made him a soldier at the Fort on account of his bad conduct.

Secondly, they must not be permitted to carry on any private trade except in trifles, animals, birds, basket-work, salt-fish, and such things, in order to encourage them and bring them some profit. All the rest that is of any importance should be purchased for the Honourable Company and sold (or used, according to the requirements of the case) for account of the same.

But (and this is perhaps the most important) if they make any discoveries of importance a certain premium should be awarded them in order to encourage them, and the necessary expenses which they incur in going into the interior of the country, &c., should be allowed in their accounts. And they should be awarded a certain proportion, as, for instance, 4 or 5 per cent., on what they purchase for the Honourable Company, and credited with the same in their accounts or paid out of the proceeds of what they sell.

For without reasonable advantages and the prospect of fortune, no one who is accustomed to a proper mode of life would care to become a hermit and go and live in places isolated from all companionship of whites, amidst woods and mountains, which in itself requires some resolution on the part of honest folks, for with regard to other sorts, such as our itinerant traders and their like, they care little where in the world they are and have really (though there is no rule without an exception) only the shape or figure of human beings—*vix nomine digni.*

In addition to what has been briefly stated here concerning the Posts or trading places, there must also be considered the vast extent of the districts situated between those four Posts, without reckoning those which are beyond the same, and belonging to the jurisdiction of the Honourable Company.

Concerning which districts it should especially be taken into consideration that they surpass those already cultivated in fertility to such a degree as to be perfectly incredible to those who are unacquainted with the experiments and investigations made.

Above the first fall in Essequibo a Jew named Moses Isaac de Vries[1], who has now been dead some years,

[1] See pp. 197, 207 and 227 for further particulars concerning him.

commenced a sugar plantation, and the cane which was grown there called forth the admiration and astonishment of all the inhabitants.

The Rivers Massaruni, Cuyuni, Pomeroon, Wacquepo, Moruka, and Waini, &c., surpass this one so greatly in the matter of fertile lands that not the slightest comparison can be instituted.

It must not be imagined that the land above the falls would be uninhabitable on account of the difficulty of transporting the produce down stream. In no wise. The aforementioned Jew demonstrated how easy it was, and results proved it. How many thousands of families would not in this way be located, make an easy living, and be saved from want (from which so many unfortunate ones at home suffer).

What advantages our commonwealth would reap from this is too clear and convincing to need expatiating upon.

The costs of such an enterprise would not be so exorbitantly high as one would imagine at the first glance. So little is required in this country for the necessaries of life that it must have been seen and experienced to be understood. Here the proverb—*Natura paucis contenta*—is true to its fullest extent. It was in the year 1750 that I had the honour, in a private audience of His Serene Highness of most laudable memory[1], to give utterance to this paradox—that it was a misfortune for this country that one could get one's living too easily, of which real truth that great Prince, upon fuller explanation, was perfectly convinced.

If we ever desired to enter upon so profitable a matter and follow the example of the English and French, the Posts of which I have spoken would be absolutely necessary and indispensable, and (be it said) if this matter is not

[1] William IV, Prince of Orange (cf. p. 37).

taken in hand, our neighbours will quietly approach and surround us, and finally, without exercising any violence, drive us from the country. This is already beginning to be observed, and what can we expect from the numerous arrivals of settlers in Cayenne, and the removal of Spanish people and plantations in Guayana so much nearer to our boundaries? The latter go to work openly, like a proud nation, and they can, therefore, be better opposed, an open enemy never being so dangerous as a secret one.

But the former will go to work in an entirely different way. They will, I think, at first be careful not to pass the River Marewyne on the sea-coast (their boundary-line with Surinam), but it is to be expected that they will do so inland and behind our Colonies, and then quietly reach the banks of the Essequibo, and thus approach us (e.g., the Ohio in North America) or the Portuguese on the Amazon.

A few years ago I saw a passport issued by a Governor of Cayenne, which was headed, "Governor of the French Colonies from the Amazon to the Orinoco." *Ex ungue Leonem.*

To try and avoid or prevent this by garrisons, forts or such like would be an impossible matter, and there would be nothing with which to make good the costs.

The only means of preventing it, of keeping the Colonies, and of rendering them eminently profitable and advantageous to the Republic is their population and proper encouragement for the inhabitants.

But this serving only as a brief treatise upon the Posts, I shall make an end here, having dealt with that matter as briefly as possible.

P.R.O. 472/72

December 28, 1764.

(Extracts)

After speaking of the difficulty he has in procuring enough stone or bricks for the erection of a new mill Storm goes on to say:

The hewn stones of Fort Kijkoveral[1] (for the bricks have already all been brought down and used on Your Honours' plantations) would go a very long way, but, YY. HH., to pull them down and bring them away would require very much time and labour; it is an old Portuguese construction[2], built extra solid and strong.

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[1] This fort, situated on an island at the confluence of the Essequibo and Cuyuni, does not appear to have been in use and was certainly not of much use on Storm's arrival in the Colony in *1738*; in *1744* the Commander expressed his intention of repairing it, its upkeep being regarded as "of the utmost necessity" (see p. 209), but four years later it was resolved to raze it, probably owing to the difficulty of obtaining labour (see p. 235), and in *1750* it was reported as abandoned but "not yet razed" (see p. 254). In *1755* Storm had the Fort cleaned and announced his intention of placing some guns there as a precaution against the Akawois (see p. 341) but it is not clear whether this was actually done. In any case, it appears to have been utterly in ruins at the date of the above despatch.

[2] This strange statement—startling, indeed, from an historical point of view—has, through the instrumentality of Hartsinck and Dalton, been handed down to posterity. There is little doubt that Hartsinck either copied it direct from the above despatch or got it indirectly from Storm (cf. p. 460), for in his reference to Fort Kijkoveral as a Portuguese construction (*Beschrijving van Guiana*, tom. i. p. 207) he also mentions the use of its stones for the very mill referred to above; there is still less doubt that the statement was an erroneous one (or that *Portuguese* was, perhaps, simply a slip for *Spanish*), for, in spite of long and deep research, no trace of Portuguese occupation of the Essequibo can be found. Netscher (*Geschiedenis van Essequebo*, pp. 338, 339) has a very exhaustive note on the subject. See also *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. pp. 239–242.

I am greatly obliged to YY. HH. for kindly considering by what means I could be somewhat relieved from the manifold duties pressing upon me.

Those duties, YY. HH., increase from day to day, whilst my strength grows less. I have been able to get along for more than twenty years by working in my office from eight to twelve every forenoon only, not always continuously, and never in the afternoons except for incoming and outgoing home letters. But now things are quite different, especially since the recent critical events, and these, too, supplemented by Mr Spoors' misfortune. For the past month or two I have had in my service a youth named Jan Brouwer to assist me in copying, but with him it is as with the Assistant Milborn—both write fairly well but extraordinarily slow. What I write in one morning they cannot copy in a week and that is so irksome to me that I mostly prefer to do it myself.

. . . . .

I have received a report from the few colonists who still reside in the upper reaches of the rivers that a few weeks ago they had seen a white man with a few Indians proceeding down the falls of the River Cuyuni and proceeding up the River Massaruni. I reproached them very much for not apprehending and sending the man to the Fort, and expressly charged them that if they caught sight of others they should immediately apprehend them and send them to me, which they promised to do.

There is something behind this, YY. HH.; these are spies who come and get all the information they can, and I fear that some trouble or other is brewing on the side of Cuyuni.

Whatever trouble I have taken, and whatever promises I have made, I have not been able to get any Indians up to the present to aid me in re-establishing the Post in Cuyuni, and without their help it cannot be done, because with

slaves it is not only too costly but also too dangerous, so that I am in great difficulties with this work, and the re-establishment of that Post is, in my opinion, of the greatest necessity.

The sudden and rapid increase made in the colonization of Cayenne affords me not only much food for reflection, but three or four weeks ago I received a letter from the Governor of Surinam in which he expresses himself very fully upon that subject, and in which he, like me, sees fatal results for our Colonies on the mainland.

I have the honour to send YY. HH. herewith the conditions laid down by the Court of France for that colonization (possibly YY. HH. have already seen these, but we have this copy from the ship that was wrecked near the Corentin). That Court is not accustomed to lay out such unheard-of sums as have been expended in this matter without having some great and important aim.

I have, as I had the honour to report in the postscript of my last, given orders for the removal of Post Arinda, and it is my intention, as soon as it is at all possible, to establish it much higher still, or to establish another Post higher up (but since this last cannot be done without special orders from YY. HH., I am obliged to await these first) in order that I may, at least, receive detailed reports of all the movements made by our neighbours in the interior, for the course of our River Essequibo runs so far southwards that I most certainly think it must, partly at least, run behind Cayenne, although very far inland. What gives occasion for more reflection is the fact that the French Commissioners who have been to Surinam and Berbice concerning the ship that was wrecked are doing their utmost to convince the people that the project is impracticable and must be dropped. I, for my part, have lived too long in these countries to allow myself to be blinded in that way.

The Governor (Crommelin) tells me also that the French

acted with no very good faith with the rebels of the East Indian ship "Nyenburg," since several, and not the least of them, are still in Cayenne, and who knows, says His Excellency, whether it was not on account of the officers whom he sent there, or some of whom he may have received. I am told that he has written fully concerning these matters to the Surinam Company.

Thus, what with the French on the east and the Spaniards on the west, we are really like a little boat between two men-of-war.

I shall not attempt to give my masters advice in a matter which it is in no one's power to prevent or to circumvent. My only aim in this is respectfully to submit to YY. HH. what is our humble opinion concerning this in all our Colonies situated on the mainland, and our well-grounded fears concerning the consequences.

I, for my part, see no remedy for this matter except by populating the Colony and establishing good Posts in the interior, from which a sharp and careful look-out can be kept upon all movements.

Because, as I have already had the honour of informing YY. HH., if anything be undertaken it will be done inland, and not on the sea-coast; of this I am perfectly certain, and I do not think that two years will elapse before we see something of the kind.

. . . . . .

In this emergency I have again had a talk with van der Heyde about Cuyuni. He has told me that the Indians were won over to be helpful, but that they wished in that case to be assured also of protection against the Spaniards.

He is of opinion that it would be needful that, at the place where the Post is to stand, a good bread-ground be first cleared and planted, so that neither the Postholder nor the Indians should suffer want (since food such as fish and game is there in great abundance), and that it would be well

to place there some of the old slaves, who not only do no more work, but are a heavy burden on the plantations, yet still competent to tend the bread-grounds and to keep them in order, and to plant again ; when, if bread were abundant, a great multitude of Indians would always be at and about the Post.

P.R.O. 472/87

February 3, 1765.

(Extracts)

Friendly relations with the Indians are certainly of the greatest necessity to the Colony ; the dangerous circumstances in which we found ourselves, and the loyalty shown and assistance rendered at that time by the Caribs and Acuways, have given convincing proofs of what advantage their friendship, and how injurious their enmity, might be to the Colonies. Notwithstanding this, many of our colonists do not hesitate to ill-treat and oppress these people in every way. YY. HH. would not believe how I am troubled by the complaints of these people ; within a fortnight I have had more than ten of them who came to tell me their grievances, and only this morning I had three.

An Indian can never tell the truth, and that makes matters very difficult ; a whole party of them has to appear before the Court on the 22nd inst.

I know of no other remedy for this than that the Sovereign shall strictly forbid anyone to detain, under any pretext whatsoever, any free Indians, male or female, upon his plantation against their will, or to hinder them from departing whithersoever they please, upon their desiring so to do.

Old Mr Clarke is dead[1]. I am expecting his son and heir (who has the honour of being known to YY. HH.) in Demerara next month, in accordance with what he wrote me by this vessel[2]. Upon his arrival I will endeavour to come to an arrangement with him[3].

Upon that matter YY. HH. are pleased to say that YY. HH. cannot recognize any foreign assistance without the authority or approval of the Sovereign. Unfortunate indeed for these remote lying regions! If in unexpected emergencies we have to wait for help from Europe the colony would be lost long before preparations could be made, and if Berbice had received help so speedily from Barbados as did Demerara, matters would probably not have gone so far and those

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[1] See pp. 39–43.

[2] Gedney Clarke, Jr., was then returning from Europe (cf. Note on p. 440). The following extract from a letter addressed by him later in the same year to Count Bentinck may be of interest here corroborating, too, as it does, his father's opinion of the West India Company's methods.

Barbados, 17th Sept., 1765.

...I shall do all that lays in my power for the wellfare of Demerary; since my heart is full as warm nay as warm as ever in its service.

Indeed the progress this infant Settlement is making (notwithstanding how much it has been neglected) is surprising. But the Inhabitants want assistence of every kind from Fatherland; and they are with the greatest impatience waiting the next year, when the Prince will be of age. It is then that we are to hope for relief; and to pray that Demerary may become a free post [port?], as St Eustatius is now. If Zealand had not usurped an exclusive [right?] to the trade of that colony it is evident that it wou'd long e'er this have been in a flourishing State; since Amsterdam would have pushed matters with more becoming spirit than Middelbourg has heretofore done: for Your Excellency will hardly think that since I had the honour of paying you my respects four years ago nothing seems to have been done for its Service but to send a few soldiers to the Colony. But indeed we have been so long in vain expectations that we no more relay on procuring assistance from Middelbourg. We must therefore wait with patience the fortunate period before mentioned; when we hope the Company will be roused from its appearant Lethargy by the hands of power justice and humanity.... (*Brit. Mus. Eg. MSS. 1720.*)

[3] Concerning his claim for aid against rebels. Cf. pp. 43 (Note 2), 44 (Note 6), 483 and 599.

enormous costs already and yet to be incurred for restoring order would possibly to a great extent have been spared. But as I have no knowledge of matters of that sort I will break off, but it is natural that he who falls into the water clutches, to save himself, at the first thing that presents itself.

. . . . .

Truly and honestly be it said, YY. HH., in order to have West Indian understanding one must have been in the West Indies. This I had the honour of saying to His late Serene Highness of laudable memory, and it is literally true; if we but had the honour of seeing one or two members of Your Honours' body here for a year things would soon change their appearance.

This Colony is no longer what it was when I arrived in the country nearly 27 years ago; the difference is as great as between Middelburg and Arnemuyden[1]. It is still growing daily and what would it be if it had received proper encouragement?

It is certain and irrefutable that colonies should tend to the welfare and profit of the province from which they depend and, since they originate therefrom, should regard it as their mother and nurse. But, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, if there be a duty, and an unshirkable duty, on the part of children towards their parents, there is also a duty incumbent upon parents towards their children—they are compelled, whilst the latter are young, to feed and cherish them, and when grown up to seek and to further their welfare.

The colonists are under obligation to do all in their power to contribute towards the welfare of their province. But they must not be oppressed and ground under foot.

[1] These Zeeland towns are only two miles apart. In *1739* the population of the former was 25,000 (Blink, *Nederland en zijne Bewoners*; *1892*); that of the latter has for the past two centuries been about a tenth of its more powerful sister.

This in no way reflects upon Your Honours' paternal care and rule, for which they have naught but praise, being convinced that YY. HH. would sweep away all causes of complaint, if able to do so. But do the private merchants, correspondents, shipowners, etc., act in a similar way? Far from it, and experience shows sufficiently that they regard the colonists absolutely as their servants who have only to work for them—but I will leave this hateful subject. I have but recently seen such harsh, even unjust dealings concerning the mortgages for the "Carolina Medioburgensis" that it is impossible to be borne. In addition to this there are so many matters respecting which YY. HH. should be informed that if I would do it in writing a ream of paper would not suffice, and however brief I try to be I fear that I weary YY. HH. with my long letters.

I also feel compelled to say that it is perfectly impossible for me to exist at present upon my income and I must get further into arrears every year; I am now already indebted to my correspondent[1] for over three thousand guilders. Yet at home I live like the meanest burgher; my children and I, far from indulging in splendid dress, are clothed far beneath our station. It was occasionally possible to purchase, although I did so reluctantly, some household provisions with the syrup; this is over now, and even a barrel of butter, a cheese or anything like that must be paid for in money or by bill.

Not a day passes but what I have strangers to entertain—at Court meetings, ordinary and extraordinary, and after church every Sunday I have at least twenty people at my table[2]. I get nothing from the plantations but the quarterly sugar and kiltum for the Indians and slaves, not even any

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[1] Pieter de Bruijn, of Middelburg. See p. 458.

[2] The Directors' reply to this was an increase of 300 guilders per year in Storm's allowance for table-money (see p. 495).

maize for my poultry—everything must be bought and paid for. The late Commander had such great expenses and suffered such loss on his plantation that if it had gone on for a few years longer he would have been totally ruined. It is true that YY. HH. were kind enough to write that he would be compensated, but now he is dead and his widow, left with three children of tender years, has to bear the loss[1]. Is not all this hard, Your Honours? I have now my youngest and only son in Europe in order that in accordance with my bounden duty I may give him an education in keeping with his birth and one that he cannot get here; for this I cannot reckon less than six hundred guilders a year. To burden year after year the plantation "Soestdijk[2]," the only property that we have as it were (half belonging to the widow and her children and half to my other children), would be sinful before God and man.

Is it then not better to sell my house and land here, pay my debt to Mr de Bruyn[3], and live quietly upon the plantation and so make shift with the little that I have for the short period of life that is still left me? These and many others were the matters concerning which I hoped to have the honour of speaking with YY. HH. when accompanying my son and grandson. YY. HH. have been pleased not to grant my discharge[4] for which I so greatly longed. YY. HH. are also pleased to disapprove of my coming over. What is there then for me to do? Obey and do my duty I must, and with the Lord's help shall, to the end of my days, but I am really almost at my wits' end.

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[1] See p. 335. [2] See p. 367.

[3] His agent or "correspondent"; cf. pp. 413, 458 and 481.

[4] Applied for with great insistence both in *May* and *September*, *1763* (see pp. 425 and 436).

P.R.O. 472/89

February 11, 1765.

(Extract)

I was startled on Saturday to see the account of what Mr Clarke has laid out[1]. What a sum! I have ordered McClean to have it copied and translated in order that it may be examined by the Court and a copy sent to YY. HH. by "Het Loo," if possible. The sum reaches a total of 41,060 gldrs. 15 stivers[2].

P.R.O. 472/97

March 15, 1765.

(Extract)

When I had the honour of writing my last despatch by "De Sarah[3]" I was compelled to do so by another's hand and to content myself with dictating and signing the same, since it had pleased the Almighty to visit me with a severe illness; for some days I was beset with great pains in my head and loins, and these at last became so intense that I was unable to attend the extraordinary Court meeting of the 12th of February. On the 14th my temperature rose four times to such a height that the surgeons and I thought there was but little hope of my recovery.

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[1] For the aid rendered at the time of the Berbice slave rising (see pp. 42–44 and 599).

[2] £3421. 1*s.* 3*d.* in English currency; Hartsinck (*Beschrijving van Guiana*, tom. i. p. 275) quotes the amount of Clarke's *claim* as eight thousand pounds sterling (and this has been copied by later historians) but, as usual, does not mention the source of his information. Possibly he meant Flemish pounds, which would have been equal to just half the amount he quotes. (Cf. p. 599, and see especially —note on p. 43—what Rodway says on the matter.)

[3] Dated *January 12, 1765*. From that despatch little of interest is to be gleaned except the fact that Mr N. Rousselet de la Jarie had been appointed Secretary *ad interim* and Salesmaster during Mr Spoors' absence in Europe.

P.R.O. 472/101

May 11, 1765.

(Extract)

I have not received any report concerning the removal of Post Arinda. I had instructed the Postholder to come down at the beginning of this year, but as he has been earnestly charged to keep a sharp look-out upon all that goes on beyond his Post and in the interior, he has possibly been detained. Since my letter by "De Sarah," I have received no further information from Cayenne.

P.R.O. 472/104

May 27, 1765.

(Extracts)

I hear nothing of the Postholder of Arinda; if anything had happened to him I should certainly have heard something of it through the Indians, and therefore I do not know to what to attribute his long silence. I presume that he has gone among the natives right up in the interior in order to obtain accurate information of how matters stand. I am longing for his coming, and have sent orders to the Post to send me information. Our traders who were wont to go up stream to traffic with the Indians do not seem to trust that business, for not one of them comes and asks for a pass now.

. . . . . .

The discovery I have this year made of a tree called *Ouarouchi* by the Caribs and *arbre à suif* in Cayenne[1] may

[1] "L'*ouarouchi*, ou arbre à suif de la Guyane, a une graine jaune, de la forme d'une muscade et de la grosseur d'une noisette, couverte d'une petite pellicule qui renferme une amande. On gratte, on lave et on pile cette amande, et on en fait une pâte qu'on brasse fortement dans une chaudière, jusqu'à ce qu'elle se couvre d'humidité et d'une sorte de fumée; on la soumet alors à la presse; il en découle un suc qui se fige et forme le suif végétal; on le fait bouillir de nouveau le lendemain,

result in great profit to the Colony, for it grows in great quantities in the low lands and its fruit yields a yellow wax very fit for making candles, which are as good as wax ones. The fruit being now in season I have had an experiment made of it by the manager van der Heyde, who, quite conversant with the Carib language, was the first to discover the tree. The experiment, though a small one, turned out very well, and as soon as he has time he will make one on a larger scale.

These experiments may possibly have further results, for upon close examination of that tree, its fruit, leaves and flowers I fancied I recognized in it an East Indian plant of great value, but I am not yet certain about it; when in Demerara I hope to make closer investigations.

P.R.O. 472/131

August 13, 1765.

(Extracts)

Having left Essequibo on the 1st June, I arrived at Demerary on the 3rd. I thought that I should again be prevented from undertaking this journey, as I had already been prevented on four consecutive occasions, because a few days before my departure I had received tidings from Upper Massaruni that the Carib nation was at war with that of the Acuways, and that the latter had massacred

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on le passe dans un linge, et enfin on le jette dans un moule. C'est en mars qu'on recueille la graine, et on la laisse ressuer deux ou trois jours. Le suc laiteux qui découle de cet arbre par des incisions, mélangé avec de l'huile et du suc de citron, passe pour un excellent remède contre les vers auxquels les enfants sont sujets." Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire, 1874.*

"*Stillingia sebifera*, the tallow-tree, is a native of China and the adjacent islands, but it has been introduced into and partly naturalised in India and the warm parts of America....The tree yields a hard wood, used by the Chinese for printing blocks, and its leaves are employed for dyeing black." *Treas. of Botany, 1866.*

all the women and children in a Carib village on the Massaruni.

Not without some reason did I fear that we should again be mixed up in this as we were a few years ago, especially through the indiscretion of some itinerant traders and avaricious settlers, who, without taking any heed of the consequences, allow themselves to be drawn into these quarrels upon the slightest inducement of profit, supporting one or other of the parties either with arms or with advice, which being discovered by the other side always leads to fatal results, and might be of great danger to the Colony itself.

But in the meanwhile the Assistant of Arinda having arrived with a written Report from the Postholder, in which he informs me of this matter, I, finding that it was not so bad as had been thought, although at bottom perfectly true, set out upon my journey, leaving Commandant Bakker written instructions to send me immediate reports of any events of importance, and in case he should be compelled by the danger of the settlers up the river to send any soldiers there, to give the commanding subaltern strict orders to act simply on the defensive, and not to interfere directly or indirectly in the quarrels of the Indians, nor yet to allow himself to be induced on any account to undertake any attack. I also impressed upon the planters the desirability of remaining perfectly neutral in this war.

The Report from the Postholder of Arinda states that all is still well as far as the Post is concerned; that he had intended to proceed up the River Rupununi, but had found the Macoussis and Wapissanes, the two tribes living there, at war, which had stopped him half-way, but that he, having summoned an Owl of each tribe, had told them that he had received orders from me to proceed up the river, and that he should come as soon as his assistant had returned from below, whereupon they had answered

him that he might do so without any fear; that he had not yet removed the Post, having found out that the site first selected at the corner of the Rupununi was covered with four feet of water in the rainy season, but that he had found a very good site half-an-hour higher up.

The Post being at present surrounded by swarms of Caribs who had taken up a position there, and were only waiting for the abandonment of the Post to fall upon the Acuways, against whom they felt very bitter, he had not considered it advisable to remove yet, since, by his doing so, progress up the river would be made unsafe, nay, impossible. Wherefore he had done all that he possibly could to pacify the two tribes, and had fairly succeeded; but those tribes not being very trustworthy, he asks whether it would not be best to leave two men at the old Post whilst he went up the river with one as soon as he was sufficiently certain that the natives would keep the peace or go and fight it out further inland, where they would in all probability find their match, and thus become somewhat more tractable.

This suggestion corresponding pretty well with my own ideas, I shall authorize him to put it into execution provisionally.

Nothing has yet been heard of any strangers in the interior, and he has made such arrangements with the Indians that whoever might turn up would be immediately seized and sent to the fort. *Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur*[1].

He had sent one of his assistants to the famous Pyramid[2]. This man gave me a verbal account of the same, and brought me a drawing which was so confused that I could have made absolutely nothing of it unless I had had his verbal explanation. I shall attempt to bring it

[1] Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 91.

[2] See pp. 77 and 78.

into some order on paper, and will then have the honour to forward the same.

I was obliged to send the Postholder of Moruka away from here very quickly, because the Indians of Pomeroon came to the fort to report that some canoes filled with Spaniards were in the Pomeroon, and because a letter came from his assistant informing us that some murdered Indians had been found in the Itaboes[1]. I charged him to go and inquire into these matters as speedily as possible, and, if necessary, immediately to send to Mr Bakker, who would then send him assistance. The creole belonging to YY. HH. sent up the river to spy out has also returned. This bold fellow has been as far as the Spanish Mission[2], pretending to be a runaway. He stayed there for a few days, and brought some pictures of saints back with him in order to prove that he had really been there.

He reports that there are swarms of Akuways at that Mission, situated about four hours from Cuyuni on the west, and that the missionaries are the cause of the war

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[1] See p. 322.

[2] It is probable that when Storm in this despatch speaks of "Mission" in the singular he is simply using a general term and not thinking of any particular mission; and there can be little doubt that in speaking of a mission four hours to the west of Cuyuni he is treating the Cuyuni as identical with the Uruan and Yuruari. The Spanish records show conclusively that at this period there were no missions nearer the Cuyuni than Avechica which was on the Supama, a tributary of the Yuruari; and, as a matter of fact, disappeared some time between *1762* and *1766*. According to detailed Spanish reports the missions were something like ten or twelve days' journey from the Cuyuni proper.

No doubt from time to time further missions were projected and there may have been some truth in the talk of a mission beyond the Cuyuni, but in reality the Spaniards never got there. It was not till *1783* that they got as far as Cura and Tumeremo, which were close to the present Venezuelan mines, and represent the furthest point to the east that the Spanish missions ever reached.

See also note on p. 90.

between the Caribs and that tribe, the natives being incited and provided with arms by them.

He also says that preparations are being made to establish a new Mission between Cuyuni and Massaruni, that is, in the middle of our land.

Should this happen we shall be compelled to oppose them with violence, because the consequences of that could only be harmful and would finally result in the ruin of the Colony. This is certain, that so long as no satisfaction is given by the Court of Spain concerning the occurrence of the Post in Cuyuni, the Spaniards will gradually become more insolent, and will encroach upon our ground from year to year.

I shall meanwhile keep a watchful eye upon all their operations, and again send out the same creole as soon as the dry season sets in.

. . . . .

I have also forgotten to mention that Your Honours' creole who has been up in Cuyuni at the Spanish Mission found there Your Honours' creole, named Ariaen, who was carried off a prisoner along with the Postholder and assistant at the raiding of the Post by the Spaniards[1]. He is at present head smith at the Mission. Is it not hard, Sirs, that one must look on patiently at such piracies and endure them?

. . . . .

There being very much to do here in Essequibo, I left Demerara on the 18th of July at five o'clock in the morning and reached the Fort here in the afternoon. What chaos and confusion! Sometimes I get Mr Rousselet[2] in my house three or four times a day, he being able to get on with scarcely anything, and I am therefore obliged incessantly to instruct him. He has been asked for copies

[1] See p. 359. [2] See Note 3 on p. 483.

of various letters, petitions, etc., and as these are nowhere to be found, he has often to go on searching from morning till night.

If the Lord spare me for some time yet I will help him as much as I can but I am getting old, day by day weaker and less fitted for such continuous work and worry. In addition to this my memory is getting bad and I am obliged to make a note of everything that takes place, a thing I never had to do before.

P.R.O. 472/141

October 9, 1765.

(Extracts)

I am getting quite despondent and cannot possibly hold out much longer. In my long years of service I have never yet been in such pressing difficulties. The Company's warehouse, as I already had the honour to report per Capt. Robberts, having now been perfectly empty for some months I have had to buy piecemeal of the English trading from Barbados in order to feed the soldiers and employees. I have also distributed the last ration of some flour which I had been lucky enough to obtain from Peter Halley; I am now without bread for my household and when the four weeks are over shall have none for the employees and am therefore at my wits' end. I have already written twice to Barbados for provisions, but get no reply. We lack everything, without exception. There being no oil or candles the garrison and the workmen have to go to bed with the chickens; the plantations cannot work because there being no coals in the smithies not a chopper can be steeled, and all is at a standstill. In a word, I cannot express to YY. HH. the difficulty I am in. In addition to this, the provisions which we are expecting

will be stale and of last year and most probably in no good condition.

. . . . .

If every two months (wind and weather permitting) a vessel were to sail from Zeeland everything would go on properly and regularly and the ship would easily get its cargo; a few small intermediate ones could also be freighted, but all at once is an impossibility.

P.R.O. 472/146

December 13, 1765.

(Extracts)

The accident to "Het Hof van Ramsburg" and the long voyage home of "Het Loo" bring us into exceedingly great difficulty. Expecting no vessel here now before the end of the year at the earliest I am at my wits' end and know not what to do respecting the absolute want of everything in which we are and have already been so long. Had not a few barques arrived from St Eustatius and Barbados now and then I should have been obliged to discharge the soldiers for lack of rations, and the grumbling and daily complaints of the managers and other employees make me so despondent that I heartily wish I were out of the Colony and in Europe.

In addition to this, with so many various and troublesome duties, with such unmanageable and impertinent colonists (not the least of these being the Lutheran parson), with changes in the Court, all the old and more influential members of which have died or resigned, as did Mr Persik at the last meeting, VV. HH. can easily understand what a burden there is at present upon my shoulders. As Councillor Changuion says in a letter from Demerara which I received but yesterday: "I cannot conceive how you can hold out at your advanced age."

YY. HH. may believe me that I have not a moment's rest, and as yet there is no Commander for Demerara. What am I to do? I must succumb in the end. However, I will say no more about it, but pass on to other matters. In Your Honours' most esteemed letter to the Court I see that among other things YY. HH. are pleased to remark that there appears to be a certain amount of truth in the complaints of Abel Boyer's wife, since in my letters I have maintained complete silence respecting the matter. I beg YY. HH. not to take it amiss if I make so bold as to ask whether it is possible for me to report in my letters every event that takes place and in particular those which come under the especial deliberation of the Court. How terribly voluminous my letters would have to be in that case! I have always tried as far as lay in my power to inform YY. HH. of everything that occurred touching the Honourable Company's interests and the welfare of the Colony. It is possible that, overwhelmed by a multitude of affairs and having not the least assistance I may occasionally have forgotten some matters, but I am sure they can have been of no very great importance, and I have always been more afraid of boring YY. HH. by the tediousness of my letters than of being requested to furnish reports of such matters as the above-mentioned.

. . . . .

The Colony is no longer what it was and is still increasing daily. Respect for the Court is not great and that body will have even greater trouble to maintain its authority if every one be free to complain of its judgments. I imagine that I have the honour, after so long a service, to be known to YY. HH. and that YY. HH. are well convinced that I have always chosen the milder course, have ever endeavoured to rule more by courtesy, kind words and persuasion than by authority, and that I have never been influenced by self-interest or cupidity. To satisfy everyone is an impossibility

for any man, but I dare openly attest that I have endeavoured to do so as far as I was able and have wittingly suffered no wrong to be done; had the Court passed any judgment that I thought unjust I would have postponed its execution until I had had the honour of reporting the matter to YY. HH. and received Your Honours' commands.

. . . . .

The latest tidings from Berbice are not at all favourable. I have not received any letters from the Governor for some time, he having been dangerously ill, and when the last barque sailed thence he was not yet able to write. The skipper of that barque says and Captain-Commandant Posen writes that the place is again full of sick and that five or six of the soldiers are buried each day. The remaining rebels are being pursued without respite.

The colonists appear to be but little satisfied with the new Governor[1]; I have heard a good many complaints. In my last to His Honour I wrote that when a good musician wished to play the violin he tuned his strings in perfect harmony, but that if they were overstrung they must inevitably break—*à bon entendeur demie parole.*

. . . . .

I feel ashamed, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, that when any ships or foreign vessels enter I am unable to hoist a flag at the Fort, there being now none at all, a fact that

[1] Johannes Heijliger Johs. Filius (as his signature always ran) was appointed *September 6, 1764*, and after a very uneventful tenure of office, received his discharge *November 23, 1767*. Netscher (*Op. cit.* p. 410) suggests that he subsequently settled in Demerara; he was however really an old planter of that Colony, for in the first Register compiled by Storm for the year *1762* we already find Johannes Heijliger Johs. Filius figuring as the owner of "Ameliswaerd" in Demerara; that for *1767* shows him still to be in possession of the same property, but what is interesting and even amusing, as having also acquired but that year (evidently upon his return) another plantation which he dubbed—doubtless as a compliment to Berbice—"*D'Ondankbaarheid*" (Ingratitude).

gives place to much derision.... I for myself have gone about already for some years without flag or pennant; although no councillor will go without both of these and no respectable colonist without a flag, I have not allowed that to affect me, but for the Fort to be without one is really a shame. I have sent everywhere to see whether I could procure a flag, but in vain[1].

P.R.O. 472/152

December 27, 1765.

(Extracts)

Having just concluded my despatch to YY. HH. to be sent by this vessel, I received tidings by a second express from the upper part of this river that several Indians of the Spanish Missions which are up in Cuyuni had sailed down that river, and had proceeded up the Massaruni under the leadership of an Indian [*sic*] officer, whereby the people living up there have been in a state of great uneasiness, and not without reason.

Thereupon I immediately sent off an order to H. Lussis, the manager of "Old Duynenburg," to summon the Honourable Company's creole, Tampoko[2], who is up there, and to charge him to get a few Caribs to go up the Massaruni with him to apprehend that Spanish officer, and to bring him to me.

Also to inquire most carefully whether a commencement had been made with the projected Mission between Cuyuni and Massaruni, of which I had the honour to write by the vessel "De Spoor"; this is the same creole of whom I had spoken in my despatch by "De Spoor" as being a bold and fearless fellow, in whom I think I can trust.

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[1] Cf. p. 62.

[2] Storm almost invariably spells Tampoco's name in this way, possibly oblivious of its manifestly Spanish origin.

And I have ordered Commandant Bakker to hold himself in readiness to start up the river with a detachment at a moment's notice in case it should be found necessary.

. . . . .

My manifold duties just now absolutely prevent me from replying by "'t Land Canaan" to Your Honours' much esteemed letter and I fear it may even be difficult to do so by "De Carolina Medioburgensis," which sails about the middle of January. Between now and then there are the extraordinary Court meetings this month and the ordinary ones in the beginning of the next, the compilation of the Register[1], making-up the books (in which I have to assist), completing the bills of exchange, drawing up and despatching the accounts of the Company's and Colony's dues and many other things, all of which give me so much to do that I scarcely know where to begin. I will therefore only answer certain clauses, so far as time permits.

I begin by tendering YY. HH. my heartfelt thanks for the gracious increase of my table-money[2], the consignment of a hogshead of red wine and especially for the approval of my conduct up to the present.

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[1] See p. 400.

[2] This increase was one of 300 guilders (see Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 137) and was made by the Zeeland Chamber in reply to the bitter complaints submitted by Storm in *February* of that year (see pp. 481 *et seq.*) concerning his inability to make ends meet. Storm alludes to it, evidently by a *lapsus calami*, in his next despatch (see p. 499) as an increase of "salary," though it is quite possible that he regarded both items under the same heading.

P.R.O. 472/169

January 18, 1766.

(Extracts)

Since my last short but severe illness[1] I feel, the Lord be praised, very well, considering my age, and thank the Almighty for his goodness herein, since it were else perfectly impossible for me to get through my manifold duties in the confused state in which matters now are.

The white man who had come down the River Cuyuni and sailed up the River Massaruni, as I reported in my last despatch[2], has got away and has not been seen since, but having received news in time of the coming of the Spanish Indians and their Captain, as they call him (we say an Owl), Your Honours' creole Tampoko, having very carefully observed my orders, went after them immediately with a party of Indians, overtook and brought them here to me, and being again immediately sent out to go and find one of them, a very suspicious character, who, I had been informed, had gone overland to Pomeroon to buy boats, he came back to me very quickly with him.

Having closely interrogated the former, I found that they had come at the request of a Carib Owl of Massaruni, who, having an old grudge against the Acuway tribe, had urged the others of his nation living under this jurisdiction to help him to fight the Acuways, which they had, however, refused to do, reminding him of my oft-repeated commands. He had then called these Spanish Indians to his assistance, but the Acuways, warned by the other Caribs, were on their guard, and ready to receive them well.

I ordered the Spanish Indians to return to their homes immediately, and not to come here again, otherwise I would have them received in a disagreeable manner, whereupon, being greatly terrified, they departed with the utmost haste.

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[1] See p. 483.

[2] See p. 494.

I have sent word to the Owl of Massaruni that in case he did such a thing again I would send him to North America in an English ship. He has promised me to obey this order. I have treated him in a much more lenient manner than I should otherwise have done, because he is one of those who behaved so well at the time of the troubles in Berbice.

During the examination of the Spanish Indians, I found that the guns, powder, and shot which Messrs van der Heyde and Bakker had found in their boats up the river had been sold to them by the colonist, Bastiaen Christiaense, for hammocks and greyhounds.

They said that he had not actually incited them to murder the Acuways, but that they could do what they pleased, because it was a savage tribe for whom we did not care. This is bad behaviour, YY. HH., for it is still fresh in our memories what danger the Colony was in, and what trouble I had to keep on terms of peace with that tribe; but I am convinced that this man will declare it all to be a pack of lies when I speak to him about it, which I intend to do at an early opportunity.

This was not the case with the other Indian brought down by Tampoko; this man was found to be a spy from the Spanish Missions, going continually to and fro to report what he saw. I have placed him in Tampoko's keeping, and ordered him not to move out of sight of the latter, and the Indians round about us have promised to crack his skull if they find him alone.

According to the reports of the Spanish Indians, it is only too true that there is a desire to establish new Missions in Cuyuni and above Cuyuni, but now that a beginning is to be made with re-establishing the Post as soon as possible, I hope that an end will be put to all these encroachments. I have already engaged a Postholder who is well acquainted with Indian languages, and as soon as some of the buildings

are ready I will give him a commando of one under-officer and six men to begin with until it is well established; but I have some trouble in finding six Protestant soldiers, it being of importance that no Roman Catholic, and especially no French, be sent there, because they are not to be trusted at all, and more than half of the garrison consists of Frenchmen.

. . . . . .

My desire to come to Europe and to have the honour of presenting my respects to YY. HH. in person is very great, but I quite understand that it would be inexcusable on my part to undertake the journey now; matters in the Colony being at present in such confusion in many ways, and it being as impossible for Mr Rousselet to get on without my assistance as it is to reach Heaven with one's hands, I will readily confess that in spite of all my endeavours I cannot see any hope or possibility of getting the office affairs into order.

What a burden it is, YY. HH., that I have now to do everything myself or have it done in my presence. So long, however, as the Lord preserves me in health I will console myself with the thought that I am doing my duty and that I fear no labour so long as I perform it to the satisfaction of my greatly esteemed lords and masters.

Heaven grant that the time may soon come when YY. HH. will be able to further the progress of this Colony; for that time I long, and have already longed for so many years, with heart and soul. The matter has gone on a good deal longer than I ever thought it would, and it is not too soon that an end was made of it[1]. When a settlement shall at

[1] In this somewhat guarded utterance Storm refers to the dispute that had dragged on for long years between the Zeeland and Amsterdam Chambers (see pp. 143–145). He himself had always carefully abstained from contributing aught to the discussion and scarcely ever alluded to it.

length have been made I hope to have the honour to submit to YY. HH. my humble considerations concerning the merchants, correspondents and ship-owners, my time being so taken up at present that I have but five days in which to write and copy this letter, compile the Register, balance the books, sign the bills, send out the colonists' accounts, draft the Court of Policy's despatch[1] and attend to much else, to say nothing of the usual daily work, of the two intervening Court meetings and of the tiring New Year's Day. Wherefore I trust that YY. HH., taking all this into consideration, will kindly excuse the haste with which this is written and the brevity of some of the paragraphs, also if anything has unintentionally been omitted, for I am not left in peace for half-an-hour together.

I have once more the honour to repeat my thanks for the gracious increase in my salary[2] and the consignment of a hogshead of red wine. "De Phœnix" not having yet arrived I have not yet received the latter, and I fear, not without reason, we shall never see that vessel. We are looking out for "De Laurens en Maria" very anxiously.

. . . . .

The time for the ripening of the fruit of the *ouarouchi* tree is in the ensuing month of February, when I hope to have the honour to send YY. HH. a few specimens[3]. I am getting more and more convinced that it is the genuine nutmeg-tree, but in its wild state and with small fruit, just as I have always regarded our Akawoi or wild cinnamon as being the true cinnamon that grows in Ceylon; this the Portuguese, after examination and experiment, have also found to be the case. I have already planted several young

[1] The Court of Policy always sent home a despatch of its own signed by the Director and all the Councillors. These despatches were entirely lacking in the interest attaching to those written by Storm in his own name.

[2] See p. 495.

[3] See pp. 484, 485.

trees but not one has thriven and I can find no one capable enough to go into the woods up in Rupununi to get some good specimens.

. . . . .

I beg YY. HH. to be good enough carefully to examine the soldiers that are sent us in future. Pray do not let us have any more French, and as few Roman Catholics as possible. The Commandant cannot find six Protestants for the Posts in Cuyuni, and we dare not trust Catholics to go there. What is to be done?

P.R.O. *472/212*

April 6, 1766.

(Extracts)

I was very pleased to hear that YY. HH. approved of the instructions and orders given to Commandant Bakker concerning the measures to be taken during my absence with regard to the war between the Carib and Akawoi nations. The same were accurately followed, and so much was done both by persuasion and by threats that, although there is a great feeling of bitterness on both sides, nothing of importance has actually taken place between them, the fighting having been restricted to a few skirmishes that occurred under cover of night. I have as yet no report how matters stand at Arinda, the Postholder, who has at last undertaken the journey to the interior according to my reiterated instructions, having sent me word to say that he hoped to come down in March, but though we know when we go out we know not when we shall return.

As to the pyramid, I have the honour to inform YY. HH. that already in the first years of my stay in this country I heard many stories told by old inhabitants how up in the Rupununi there was a very high pyramid built of stone, of which people talked even in the neighbouring districts;

I have received several letters asking for information upon this subject, though I have never been and still am not able to give a satisfactory answer thereto, for, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken, and the promises I have made, I have not succeeded in finding any one who would go to examine it because of inveterate superstition, the Indians all being unanimously of belief that it is the dwelling-place of the Jawaho, the name they give to the Devil. In the year 1740 a mulatto, Pieter Tollenaer (the same one who brought back Your Honours' creoles who had run away on account of the ill-treatment of the miner Hildebrand), at my request, undertook to make a voyage thither in company with two of these creoles and upon their return I was assured of the reality of that affair, for he brought with him a rough drawing thereof, and also of various images which he had seen near it cut in the stone.

The circumstance that this mulatto died shortly after his return gave further support to the superstition, and whatever trouble I have taken, I have not since that time been able to obtain information thereof, except only the report of the Councillor E. Pypersberg, who has recently died, that, as he was coming down Massaruni, up which he had gone in pursuit of his runaway slaves so far that he had come to tribes who had never seen white people, he had distinctly seen, also on his right hand, in about the same direction, yet another very high pyramid, which he had been very curious to examine from near by, but, as he had only Indians with him besides his runaway and captured slaves, he had not dared to leave his boat.

The thing now having at last been undertaken by the assistant Bakker, who has also brought with him a very rude and imperfect sketch of both of them, the one being in sight from the other, I have considered it my duty to give YY. HH. as well as possible some information about them. By the same opportunity I have sent a copy to my

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good friend Professor Allamand[1], at Leyden, requesting to have his opinion upon it, to which I have not yet received an answer.

The fame of the same consists in naught else than the continual talk of the Indians about it and the curiosity which must necessarily arise to find out who were the builders of it, which is indeed well worthy of investigation. In the Old World there are, so far as I am aware, no other builders of pyramids known than the ancient Egyptians, and it is by no means probable that they sent any colony to this New World[2].

It is also a certain and infallible rule here that in all places where the Indians say that the Jawaho lives there is

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[1] See pp. 370, 371.

[2] The Company's reply to the above was dated *September 8, 1766*, and ran :—

"Beginning, then, with the [letter] of the 6th April, written in Demerara, we have seen from it with pleasure the provisional information given us by you concerning those uncommonly high pyramids which, according to the statement of various persons, are said to exist up in Rupununi, built of stone, and even ornamented with sundry figures carved in stone.

"We should be glad if in the Colony some one could be found with the leisure, inclination, and ability to make a careful investigation thereof, not because we attach any belief to the stories which you inform us people are wont to relate about them, namely, that near them or under them gold or silver mines exist, though this is not therefore impossible, but particularly because thereby one might possibly get an opportunity for discoveries which might be of much importance to the whole learned world, and especially to all lovers of ancient history and to geographers, the more so since up to this time it is outside all probability, not to use stronger expressions, that the ancient Egyptians should have had a Colony in those parts, while, nevertheless, those ancient nations, along with the Chinese, are the only ones who are on record as builders of such colossal pyramids.

"If, therefore, you can find some one in whom the three aforesaid requirements are united, it will afford us especial pleasure that you, as early as possible, employ him thereto. We likewise would not be averse to your trying to get a good, skilled, and honest interpreter for the Indian languages, as we think we have more than once told you."

Cf. Note 3 on p. 533.

something out of the common, either gold or silver mines or something else, it being the policy of the old Chiefs to frighten off the younger ones from those places in order that the latter may not be explored, the acts of cruelty wrought by the Spaniards in those matters being still fresh in their memory.

This assistant being still alive and well there is hope that the superstition will lose ground, and that we shall therefore be able to obtain some better and more reliable information, for upon that sort of people there is so little reliance to be placed that really if the Indians or creoles who went with them [*sic*] did not agree in their accounts I should give the matter scant attention. This is at the same time an event (although one of the most trifling) which demonstrates the great necessity of a good, competent and honest interpreter for the Indian languages.

. . . . .

I shall write to the Governor of Orinoco concerning the state of affairs in Barima, which would become an absolute den of thieves, a rag-tag-and-bobtail party of our colonists staying there under pretence of salting, trading with the Indians, and felling timber, &c. They live there like savages, burning each other's huts and putting each other in chains, and I fear that bloodshed and murder will come of it[1].

The west side of Barima being certainly Spanish territory (and that is where they are), I can use no violent measures to destroy this nest, not wishing to give any grounds for complaint; wherefore I think of proposing to the Governor (who is daily being more highly praised for his friendliness to all foreigners) to carry this out hand-in-hand, or to permit me to do so, or as and in what manner he shall consider best.

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[1] For the fulfilment of this prediction see p. 504.

P.R.O. 472/222

May 30, 1766.

(Extracts)

Having had the honour to inform YY. IIH. in one of my former letters[1] of the barbarous mode of life of some of our colonists in Barima, and hearing that this was getting gradually worse, I charged the Postholder of Moruka, when he came to see me whilst I was in Demerary, to proceed thither in order to prevent all further mischief, and, in case matters were really so bad, to order the evil-doers to come to the Fort.

On his arrival there he found poor Thomas Adams bound fast to a tree with a chain, and nearly dead, having been thus kept for over three months by Jan Adolph van Rose.... After all had been carefully enquired into, the Court condemned van Rose to be publicly exposed under the gallows for one hour with the rope about his neck, and to be banished for ever, and to pay costs, &c., a sentence much too lenient for such a villain, who had behaved very badly the whole of the time he was in the Colony, and who is said to have been banished from Surinam.

The Court made a further order forbidding any one to stop in Barima, and charged the Postholder of Moruka to see that this was carried out, because in time this would become a den of thieves, and expose us to the danger of getting mixed up in a quarrel with our neighbours the Spaniards[2].

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[1] See p. 503.

[2] The reply of the Zeeland Directors, dated *September 25, 1766*, ran :—

"We agree with you in finding the inhuman treatment of Thomas Adams by Jan Adolph van Roose exceedingly criminal, and the judgment pronounced in this case by the Court of Justice really too lenient in proportion to the crime. It even seems to us that you yourself cannot be accused of over-severity in the sentence you

I hope the Postholder of Arinda may come down before the closing of this letter, I having had no tidings from above for some time.

The Burgher-Captain J. Knott has informed the Commander and myself that he had received information that the Acuways, having heard that the Caribs, who had robbed them of everything in Upper Demerary last year, were getting ready to attack them in still greater numbers, had assembled, several hundreds strong, at the place of the Owl Maritane (very well known to me), being right up between the Rivers Demerary and Essequibo, to wait for the Caribs, so that we are expecting a bloody battle every day. This might have important results, especially if the Caribs were beaten (which is very probable). The captain, who lives a good way up, has asked how he is to act in this matter.

I have charged the Commander, who was present at the meetings here, to proceed to Upper Demerary in order to be on the spot in case of unforeseen events, and to take especial care that strict neutrality is maintained by the

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demanded against him. But in one of your preceding letters you told us that the place about the Barima, where some scum and offscourings of folk were staying together and leading a scandalous life, was Spanish territory, and that you intended to have Mr Rousselet, who was going on a mission to Orinoco submit some propositions to the Spanish Governor for the extirpation of that gang. And now you inform us of your having sent thither the Postholder of Moruka with positive orders, probably *propria authoritate* without any concurrence of the aforesaid Governor, inasmuch as Mr Rousselet had not yet departed thither on his mission, and we cannot quite make this tally with the other. If that place is really Spanish territory, then you have acted very imprudently and irregularly; and, on the contrary, if that place forms part of the Colony, and you had previously been in error as to the territory, then you have done very well, and we must fully approve of your course, as also of the Court's Resolution that henceforth no one shall be at liberty to stay on the Barima. But if the Court has no jurisdiction in that place, we see little result from that Resolution: *extra territorium suum jus dicenti enim impune non paretur.*"

For Storm's answer to the above, dated *March 20, 1767*, see p. 528.

citizens. I have further charged him not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the matter, nor to help either of the nations in the slightest manner, and to make an effort, if there be still time, to reconcile the two parties and prevent bloodshed, through the mediation of the Arawaks, who are friends of both sides. I have myself succeeded in doing this several times already, both by persuasion and threats.

. . . . . .

Having received several letters from Europe asking me for *lignum quassiæ*[1] as a specific against fever, colics, etc., excelling quinine, I took the greatest trouble to discover it here, but as it is not known by that name I should never have found it had I not when recently in Demerara been told about it by Abel Boyer, who had come across it in Surinam. Here it is called *carawadani* by the Indians, who are well acquainted with its virtues but keep them secret. Thereupon I gave orders for a quantity to be gathered and dried and have the honour to send YY. HH. a case filled with the wood and root. I have also enclosed a little of the seed, for the plant is well worth cultivating, apart from its medicinal value, being a pretty shrub with wonderfully shaped leaves and very fine bunches of scarlet flowers. I am also sending some of the seed to Professor Allamand[2], for the Hortus Medicus at Leiden.

. . . . . .

[1] Not to be confounded with the *cassia lignea* mentioned by Storm (on p. 264). "Linnæus applied the name of *quassia* to a tree of Surinam in honour of a negro, Quassi or Coissi, who employed its bark as a remedy for fever, and enjoyed such a reputation among the natives as to be almost worshipped by some, and suspected of magic by others. The tree now forms a genus of *Simarubaceæ*." *Treas. of Botany, 1866.* We give this for what it is worth.

Richard Schomburgk, though he describes the various kinds of *quassia* (*Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, tom iii. pp. 850 and 1011), adduces neither the above-mentioned derivation of the name nor the native appellation given by Storm.

[2] See pp. 370, 371.

The pilots have reported to me that in the middle of the course or channel in the entrance to this river[1] a great sandbank has formed over which at low spring tide there are only seven feet of water; this causes them great embarrassment. They are of opinion that some heavy rains might wash it away again, but apart from the fact that there is little prospect of such, since the rainy season, generally heaviest at the beginning, has set in very mildly, that is very uncertain, for I have found by experience here that when once a bank forms in the middle of a channel it invariably gets larger. Such was the case in Demerara, opposite the plantation "Soestdijk"; upon my departure for Europe in 1750 there were only a few rushes, and now there is a whole island covered with shrubs and daily getting larger. The same thing occurred off Boerasierie, where it has recently been impossible to cross when the tide is but half out.

This could cause much inconvenience to this Colony. I have ordered the pilots to take exact soundings everywhere in order to see whether a channel might not somewhere be found, for I fancy this river must have a deep outflow somewhere, although such is by no means certain; the River Waini, much larger than Demerara and much deeper inside, can scarcely be entered in a boat at low tide, having no channel, and an ordinary barque has difficulty in getting into the Pomeroon.

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[1] The Essequibo, from which he dates the despatch; cf. p. 529, Note 3.

P.R.O. 473/1

October 1, 1766.

(Extracts)

What I had the honour of writing YY. HH. concerning the great want we have suffered here is perfectly true in all its details and even short of the truth. Kindly consider, YY. HH., that it is 25 months since I received the same goods as have now come by "Het Hof van Ramsburg"; is it possible to make one year's rations do for 25 months? The plantations and slaves have suffered most, and even now I fear to incur Your Honours' displeasure by relating in what state these last goods arrived, but yet I cannot and may not remain silent.

. . . . .

With regard to what YY. HH. were pleased to write concerning the manifestoes I have the honour to say that it is almost impossible for a Secretary to be exact in this matter if the skippers are negligent or wish to act in bad faith, to obtain proof of which would be a miracle. They come here before their departure and hand in their bills of lading, from the contents of which the Secretary makes up his manifest; if they keep aught back he cannot know it, but must act upon their returns, wherein they are careful not to include their own sugars.

. . . . .

I beg to assure YY. HH. that Your Honours are still far from being acquainted with this country, that the tricks, subterfuges, frauds and duplicity practised here are yet unknown and would appear incredible to YY. HH., and that a chief must move very cautiously and take no action unless the matter be *luce meridiana clarior*.

Notwithstanding all my kindness and indulgence I am not without enemies. I could send YY. HH. authenticated copies (obtained for me *sub rosa*) of letters written by men

who are indebted to me for all they possess, who frequent my house daily with the greatest show of friendship, and who in those letters treat me in the most scandalous manner. And if they have dared to do this in neighbouring colonies, what will they not have done with their poisoned pens in Zeeland, much of which is already known to me?

. . . . .

Mr Rousselet has departed for Orinoco[1], having put out to sea on the 15th August; the list of runaway slaves he has with him comprises well over fifty. Some days before his departure there arrived here Don Hieronimo Fernandez de la Penna, Secretary to the Governor of Guayana, bringing tobacco with which to buy other commodities—a very decent and respectable person, I thought. I conversed with him at great length concerning Mr Rousselet's commission; he assured me that he thought the latter would be successful, that I did very well in sending such a man, who would be received with much respect and amiability. Amongst other things he said, "Your Excellency once sent a certain Niels," meaning Mr Schutz[2], "a real barbarian; the second time a certain Buisson, too stupid to sit alone by the fire, who, had he not had another"—that was E. Pypersberg—"with him, would scarcely have known why he was come. What can be done with such men?" he said. "I doubt not," he added, "that the slaves who have not been baptized will be returned and restitution given for the baptized ones." I hope his words will prove true, for if Mr Rousselet is unsuccessful the Colony will be almost half ruined, since the slaves will run away in troops, and I fear very much for Your Honours' plantation "Aechterkerke," the slaves of which are the biggest scoundrels in the whole river. From the above YY. HH. will see clearly that it is not all the same

[1] See note on p. 505. [2] See p. 371.

who is sent there, and yet it is very difficult to get proper men to go.

I think Mr Rousselet's journey will take about five or six weeks and that he will be back before the "Zeeberg's" departure when I hope to have the honour to report concerning his mission at the close of this despatch.

Forty-two slaves have run away from Leary in two lots, thirty-two alone from his plantation here in Essequibo, and it is a very remarkable thing that on the last day of December, 1765, he made a return, in his own handwriting, that he possessed thirty-five slaves; now there are just thirty-five remaining, whilst thirty-two have run away.

From this example alone YY. HH. may now be convinced that I was not far wrong when I had the honour to write that I was sure a great deal of fraud was going on in the slave returns and the late Councillor Pypersberg was probably certain about it, though when he discussed the matter with me he would mention no names.

. . . . .

Mr Rousselet returned from Orinoco on September 20, having performed the journey in five weeks, which is fairly quick. He was received with exceeding great courtesy and affability but could get nothing done respecting the restitution of the slaves. Yet, notwithstanding an order from the Governor of Cumaná (under whose jurisdiction Guayana is) which was shown him, and wherein not only the restitution of slaves but also the payment of any price for them is forbidden, the Governor of Guayana solemnly promised upon his honour that the slaves should be sold and the amount they fetched handed over to us and that the matter should be quite settled and liquidated before the expiration of his term of office, which has only three months to run.

If this promise be kept it will be at least something for the owners of the slaves, but for the Colony in general it would have been much more profitable if even but a fourth

part of them had been actually handed over and brought back; that would have frightened others, but now I fear desertion will be rife and that many people will be ruined if no effective measures are put into operation, as I already had the honour to mention above.

Could nothing be done with the Spanish Ambassador in The Hague concerning this matter[1]? It is indeed very hard that neighbouring and allied nations take each other's property by force in this manner and freely appropriate it. The accompanying copy[2] of the letter from the Governor of Cumaná will show YY. HH. the sentiments of some of those officials, and it must not be thought that they have their Sovereign's interest in view—no, YY. HH., to fill their own purse is their aim. There are still at the present moment in the house of the Commandant of Guayana, Don Juan Valdez, slaves who ran away from us about eight years ago; they have been recently seen and spoken to.

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[1] See note on p. 64. To this and many similar entreaties the Directors sent a most unsatisfactory and somewhat mettlesome reply dated *August 27, 1767*, which ran:—

"As to taking efficacious measures against the running away of slaves to Orinoco and elsewhere, we are as much as anybody convinced of the necessity thereof; but in our missive of the 9th March of this year we already told you how little effect we were expecting from any representations or requests here in Europe, in view of the result obtained at the Court of Spain by the representations made at the request of the Presidial Chamber of Amsterdam, regarding the slaves absconding from Curaçao to the coasts of Cora. However, in order that we may have nothing wherewith to reproach ourselves, we have appointed a committee to report to the Pensionary of this province about the condition of affairs, in order that he may, when opportunity offers, lay the matter before the meeting of the Provincial Estates and bring it about that the Deputies to the States-General be instructed to urge in that body that Mr Doublet van Groeneveld be requested to make the most vigorous representations to His Catholic Majesty, to the end that the slaves deserting from Essequibo *cum annexis* to the Spanish Colonies may be returned, as has always hitherto been done until a few years ago, &c., and this is all we can do here in this country."

[2] Inclosure No. 2. See p. 513.

The Governor has answered my letter very politely[1]; we must now wait and see what happens.

The letter from the Governor of Cumaná[2] deserves the most serious attention on the part of YY. HH., who will see from it that he desires the runaways to be declared free but never permitted to travel or go by water lest they be carried off by the Dutch, since they have been admitted into the Catholic faith by baptism. All the world knows how far the faith of Indians and negroes converted by their missionaries extends. I have spoken to some of those Indians who were scarcely aware that there was a Supreme Being and knew absolutely nothing of religion beyond the "Ave Maria" and the "Pater Noster," whilst a few could say the Creed in Latin and make the sign of the Cross. Fine Christians indeed!

[Inclosure No. 1.]

Dear Sir,

I received, with the esteem due to Your Honour's respected personality, the letter brought to me by Mr de Rousselet, charged with the matter of the negro slaves, fugitives from your Colony, whom I treated with the regard corresponding to his merit and laudable qualities and in conformity with Your Honour's recommendation, and I assure Your Honour of my sincere desire to repair, as far as in me lies, the loss occasioned by the said slaves to the inhabitants of your Colony.

Your Honour's delegate has admirably fulfilled his charge and returns furnished with the documents necessary to attest his zeal and my desire to please Your Honour by the maintenance of perfect harmony with your Colony. He has left his credentials with the Government in order that the desirable despatch may be employed in this matter, wherein Your Honour may be assured I shall not omit my part to bring it to the earliest possible conclusion.

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[1] Inclosure No. 1.

[2] Inclosure No. 2. See p. 513.

Your Honour may dispose of me whenever it may please you. God keep Your Honour many years.

JOACHIN MORENO MENDOZA.

Nueva Ciudad de Guayana,
Angostura de Orinoco,
September 9, 1766.

Governor Don Louis Storm de 's Gravesande.

[Inclosure No. 2.]

Dear Sir,

From your letter of the 2nd inst. I see that a negro slave came fleeing from the Colony of Essequibo in search of Holy Baptism....If you find that this negro slave certainly fled in order to become a Christian thrqugh baptism you shall guard and protect him in His Majesty's royal name....And if his master should subsequently happen to demand him you shall under no circumstances give him up but maintain and guard him in the possession of Christianity which he came to seek, taking care that he is well treated and that he has free use of his person without any subjection or slavery whatsoever, charging him ever to live quietly and in a Christian manner, to follow his trade or to perform his work in order to acquire the means wherewith to exist honourably, but not permitting him to travel upon this river nor to go out of your sight lest he be perverted or taken by the Dutch and this new plant be lost....God guard you many years.

JOSEPH DIGUJA.

Cumaná, October 12, 1766.
Don Juan Valdes.

P.R.O. 473/22

December 3, 1766.

(Extracts)

Your Honours' highly esteemed commands contained in the despatch of the 8th September shall so far as in any way possible be exactly executed and as speedily as expediency permits, and from the first of next January I shall have a careful account kept of the distribution of

the rations and other provisions and a complete list of such rations drawn up. If I remember rightly I already had the honour not very long ago of sending YY. HH. a ration list. But for me to give the exact dates of all Your Honours' resolutions or letters wherein the respective rations have been decreed or ordered is impossible. I should be obliged to read through all Your Honours' letters addressed to the Court of Policy and to myself and what a work would that not be! I know for certain that no rations beyond the usual ones are distributed except by Your Honours' special permission, and in accordance with the hard-and-fast rules obtaining in this Colony upon my arrival and doubtless based upon Your Honours' commands.

The ordinary employees, such as corporals and soldiers, receive every four weeks 28 lbs. of meat and 16 lbs. of meal; the artizans, sergeants, foremen, &c., 42 lbs. of meat and 24 lbs. of flour, whilst those drawing double rations get 56 lbs. of meat and 32 lbs. of flour, as YY. HH. may see by the list.

Many clauses of Your Honours' very esteemed letter have been already answered in my previous respective despatches and Mr Rousselet being at the moment here in Demerara I shall speak to him very seriously concerning the ships' manifests. I have already done so on several occasions; I myself do not get the papers until the moment of closing the letter-bag, when my house is full of people and I am obliged to put my letter to YY. HH. (which has to be kept open until that moment) in order. It is hard, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, as I have had the honour to write more than once, that I am obliged to be everywhere and let my eye go over everything if I want it properly done. In the daily increase of affairs, at my advanced age and with my constant ailments it is impossible for me to do as much as I would wish and as my duty demands, but *ad impossibile nemo tenetur.*

That is also the principal reason, YY. HH., for the respectful request for my discharge contained in my letter going by this ship, it being impossible for me to endure the fatigues inseparable from my office without succumbing thereto. In addition to that the continual cavilling and secret opposition to which I am exposed render my life a sorrow and burden to me. It is true that if it be given me to obtain Your Honours' approval of my conduct I ought to laugh at all the rest and treat it as naught, but, YY. HH., that cannot always be done—even a worm will turn.

There are four or five marplots in this Colony who will not rest until they have dug my grave—that is the aim of all their endeavours, and I think it best to give in to them and let them find out whether they will be better off under another chief. My persistence in having Your Honours' commands executed as exactly as possible and in allowing no deviation whatever from that course is not to their liking, and my long experience and accurate knowledge of all that is going on does not permit them to hope either to deceive or to mislead me.

[*Thereupon Storm once more repeats his request to be discharged, in the usual terms and with the usual accompanying expressions of gratitude*[1].]

The Postholder of Arinda is at present here; the fellow has not made the slightest attempt to carry out his instructions; he blames the assistant, Bakker, for this, who again throws the blame upon him. It is a chaos of conflicting statements, of which it is impossible to make anything. But the assistant being universally known as a rogue, I shall send him out of the Colony with the first English vessel. He will then not be able to do any more mischief, and I shall promote [*sic*] the Postholder to the rank of assistant if I can only manage to find another.

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[1] See his applications of *May* and *September, 1763*; pp. 425 and 436.

I have set one of the assistants of Moruka to carry a gun once more on the Island of Borssele.

The Postholder of Cuyuni is, according to the latest reports, lying ill at the Post. This is a great pity, because he makes great progress in his work, and we should lose a great deal in him. But sickness is the fate which overtakes all, without exception, who proceed up the Cuyuni for the first time, especially in the dry season, which still continues.

P.R.O. 473/23

December 8, 1766.

(Extracts)

On the 12th of October, the day of my entry upon my sixty-third year, "De Spoor" came to anchor before the Fort, having just met the pilot who was going to Demerara to take the "Zeeberg" out to sea, which vessel was too ully laden to go out before the full moon.

"De Spoor" brought me Your Honours' much esteemed despatch of the 19th July last, the circumstantial reply to which I shall, I fear, have to postpone until the departure of "Het Hof Ramsburg" or the "Maria Aletta," since, in addition to my being seriously incommoded by gout, time is so short and my duties so manifold that I can take scarcely a few hours' rest and must leave it to Mr Spoors, who arrived in the above-mentioned vessel, to write a full and circumstantial report of Your Honours' plantations. The administration of the latter has now been entrusted to that gentleman in conjunction with me[1],—this to my great annoyance, be it said *en passant*, as YY. HH. will already have observed from an earlier letter[2],—and matters will, I hope, be speedily put right by the salutary resolution concerning the managers passed and transmitted by YY. HH. The care of the plantations will have to fall mostly on Mr Spoors alone for a month or two since it is my intention, if the

[1] See p. 38. [2] See p. 429.

Lord will, to proceed to Demerara to-day a fortnight, where my presence is very necessary but whither it was impossible for me to go before the arrival of this ship.

In addition to this, both my daughters were civilly married[1] the day after the vessel's arrival and intend to have their union blessed by the Church immediately upon our arrival in Demerara, which occasions a deal of to-do in the house. I shall therefore begin by answering a few, and, indeed, the most important of Your Honours' points.

And firstly, I have the honour to thank YY. HH. for kindly appointing another assistant, because this greatly diminishing the other assistants' work, especially as another clerk has been engaged in the Secretary's office, I can employ one to help me in my manifold and daily increasing writing and copying. This favour comes, too, the more opportunely, since by the marriage of my daughters I have lost my clerks, so that I saw no chance of getting through my work and have already been in negotiations with a competent person from St Eustatius to engage him for my own service; these, however, now fall through by reason of Your Honours' kind arrangements, and I shall now employ the assistant Milborn and let him accompany me wherever my presence may be required.

. . . . .

Nothing could be better or more advantageous than Your Honours' plan of splitting up the requisitions into three or four lots; this would not only often prevent such want as is occasioned by long delay in the vessels' arrival and by other causes, but the goods being sent off more betimes would certainly arrive in better condition. For I assure YY. HH. in all truth that various kinds of provisions, especially peas, beans, &c., &c., often arrive totally useless (though it is Your Honours' kind intention that the

[1] See p. 33.

employees shall derive benefit from these things and pay for them as good and fit for use), their condition caused either by being already too stale when despatched or by the fault of dishonest purveyors who think "It is good enough for the West Indies." The samples shown YY. HH. are very good, of that I have no doubt, but whether the bulk comes up to the samples, *hoc credat judæus Apella non ego*[1].

. . . . . .

I have (so I have reason to believe) found a competent Postholder for Cuyuni in the person of Pierre Martin, formerly a corporal in Your Honours' service. I have engaged him at the rate of 16 guilders per month, and have given him provisionally two assistants, who are well acquainted with the Indian languages, each to receive 8 guilders per month. I dare not trust any of the soldiers here to go there, for reasons already given in my former letters. He is at present engaged in putting up the dwellings and in bringing the Post into some order, and has some Caribs with him, whose number I shall greatly increase when sufficient bread has been planted and things are in a better state.

According to the report of these same Indians, the Spaniards have captured and carried off Your Honours' creole, Tampoko, together with an Indian slave belonging to my daughter, who had gone with him to buy birds and other things from the Indians up in Cuyuni; some of these Caribs even assert that the Indian slave has been killed.

The Postholder of Arinda not having come down the river, in spite of my reiterated commands, and not having executed any of my orders, and everything there being in confusion, I have placed one of the assistants under arrest here, and sent a subaltern officer up the river to bring down the

[1] Horace, *Satirae*, I. v. 100.

Postholder, in order that I may inquire fully into the matter. In Maykouny, things are going at present well; in Moruka, fairly so.

The Posts are certainly, YY. HH., of the greatest importance, both for the Honourable Company as well as for the Colony. If we could only be so fortunate as to get hold of some competent Postholders we should very soon have good results. But this was impossible up to the present, the bad behaviour of several of these men having brought that situation into contempt, and no respectable citizen, however much he may wish to, dares to ask for it; and with regard to the military, we cannot expect anything good from them. And yet, if there be any situation which will enable a man to put by a fair capital in a few years it is that of Postholder (with the exception of the one at Maykouny, who has little opportunity, but who, if of good behaviour, will be placed elsewhere when there is a vacancy).

The old de Scharde had held the Post of Moruka for about a year and a half when he died, yet he left his son in Demerary a plantation with more than twenty slaves, and he was only beginning business[1]. The Spaniards who had come hither with tobacco, hides, and other things, all have to pass his door, and some of them rest at his place. What would prevent him, if he were a man who understood his interests, from buying everything from them? If they could at his place get the merchandize they require they would not be so foolish as to come here for them, but far from doing that, these men are, and remain, blood poor, and up to their ears in debt. Want of time does not permit me to dilate further upon this.

If I had good under-officers and soldiers, especially

[1] Aegidius de Scharde figures in the Registers (see p. 400) as the owner of "Hampton Court." Cf. also pp. 469, 470.

Netherlanders, or, at least, Protestants, I think it would be possible to find a few good Postholders among them; but among those I have at present there is not a single one except Sergeant A. Nusgen, who cannot possibly be spared. Only this morning I was informed that another plot had been formed by three or four soldiers to run away with a party of female slaves to Orinoco, which matter is being inquired into whilst I am writing this.

. . . . .

It is true, and YY. HH. are pleased to say, that there is no virtue which carried to excess does not degenerate into a defect or a vice. The Dutch proverb says, "Over good is often mad"; and I see the truth of this more day by day. Courtesy and indulgence, born of kindness, were very well and even necessary, as long as the Colony was in the condition in which I found it (that is, from the year 1738 to 1745 or '46 inclusive) and whilst the veterans, such as Messrs A. Buisson and C. Boter, were still living, for whom all the planters had some respect; when I was on good terms with them (as was nearly always the case) I could get what I wanted and all went well.

Having become accustomed to this line of conduct, fully approved by YY. HH. in various letters, it is somewhat difficult for me to make a complete change for, *Recens imbuta, servat odorem testa diu*[1]. Now that the Colony has increased so extraordinarily and is still growing daily and, like Noah's Ark, holds clean and unclean, men of all tongues, races and nations, things are quite different, especially in Demerara, and one is *nolens volens* often obliged to use authority if everything is to be brought into proper order. Be pleased, Your Honours, to believe an old servant (who flatters himself he is thoroughly well known to YY. HH.) when he says that he will never exceed the limits

[1] *Imbuta recens servat odorem testa diu.* Horace, *Epist.* I. ii. 69.

of what is just and reasonable, and to grant him proper time for vindication (as I doubt not YY. HH. will do) should complaints be laid before YY. HH. when he is compelled to make use of the authority entrusted to him.

The boast of the Amsterdam merchant that he could smuggle as much sugar out of Demerara as he liked proves that all Gascons are not in France but that some of them may be found in Amsterdam. I should like to see the fellow attempt it—it would be no loss to the Commander or to me, I promise him, and the revenue would do well by it.

. . . . .

YY. HH. having done me the honour to inform me that YY. HH. had decided upon a garrison of forty men for the Colony (really much too little for the two rivers) I asked for no recruits, but now that more than half of the garrison have served their time and are asking for their discharge, I take the liberty to ask for a reinforcement of twenty-five men and one drummer. If there were a good competent constable or two among them they would be of the greatest use, for such men can really be ill dispensed with.

Herewith I will again reiterate my request that no French or Flemish be sent, but as many Protestants as possible. The proximity of the Spaniards, and especially of the Spanish Missions, renders it impossible to place the slightest trust in Catholics.

. . . . .

It is hard that neighbouring and allied nations should thus seek to compass the ruin of their neighbours upon the frivolous and really ridiculous pretext of bringing the slaves into the Christian religion[1]—a whited sepulchre filled with nothing but rotting bones—because of all their Indian and black (so-called) Christians I have not seen a single one who knows anything more of religion than that there is a

[1] A further reflexion upon the matters detailed on pp. 510 to 513.

God, and perhaps not so much as that, or with entirely erroneous ideas concerning the Supreme Being.

. . . . . .

Only a moment ago there arrived Your Honours' creole, Tampoko, who, though having been captured up in Cuyuni by the Spaniards and sent heavily chained further into the interior, managed to find some means not only to rid himself of his chains, but to come down through Orinoco, and to bring with him two negroes from Angostura, where the Governor lives.

The fellow seems to be in league with the Deuce, because it is difficult to understand how he managed to do all this. He tells me that the Indian slave belonging to my daughter also escaped with his assistance, and that he is coming on behind with a party of Indians, and that he will probably bring a few with him. This creole is really priceless, considering the services that are to be got out of him. It is a pity, nevertheless, that he is so insolent when he is drunk[1].

. . . . . .

The wood asked for went over in the "Laurens en Maria," by which vessel I also had the honour to write further concerning the *ouarouchi*[2] and to send some; to this I added a small case of the now famous *quassia*[3], here called *carawadani*, and for which I have received several requests by "De Spoor." I am impatiently awaiting the time for the *ouarouchi* to ripen, for the Indians will then bring me a kind growing near the Pomeroon quite once as large as the last; its mace is much thicker and in my opinion the genuine sort for which I am looking. As for the cinnamon which is to come from up the Essequibo YY. HH. saw in the beginning of this letter what a Postholder I have there; he

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[1] For further details concerning Tampoco's life and end see p. 585.
[2] See pp. 484 and 499. [3] See p. 506.

has done naught of what was ordered him. Speaking generally, Your Honours, I ought to be everywhere in person if I want anything done well; that was easy enough some twenty years ago, but now it is very troublesome for me.

. . . . . .

I am deeply grateful and obliged to YY. HH. for the permission so graciously granted me to pay a visit to Europe, which I have so long and cordially desired to do; with heart and soul would I like to profit by that favour in the ensuing spring, but, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, the present state of my health does not allow me to hope that I shall be fit to do so. It is possible that during the ensuing rainy season God may graciously grant me some betterment, but the intense drought which still continues has increased my pain so much that everything is a burden to me, and even writing, which was always a light and pleasant labour for me, is now a task which I can perform only with great trouble and many breaks. My two daughters being now married I am left almost alone, which in my advanced years and ill-health will be exceedingly awkward for me. Wherefore I have written to my son[1] by this vessel asking him to return hither, and telling him not to fail to call upon YY. HH. before his departure to hear Your Honours' pleasure and to assure YY. HH. of his respect. At the same time I take the liberty of commending the youth, concerning whom I get good accounts (the Lord be praised), to Your Honours' favour and protection.

These circumstances, in addition to my advanced age, bodily ailments and many other reasons compel me to

[1] Jeremias, born (according to family papers) *Feb. 2, 1749* (according to Rietstap, *Op. cit.* p. 135, *Sept. 2* of that year). He evidently did not come back at once for in *June, 1767*, Storm recommended him to the protection of Bentinck (see p. 589) as he had already done to that of the Prince of Orange in *Aug. 1766* (see p. 550).

repeat the request I proffered some years ago and to implore YY. HH. most earnestly and humbly to be kind enough to grant an old servant the favour of releasing him from a heavy burden daily becoming more impossible for him to bear. As long as the Lord preserves me in life I shall never forget the benefits and kindnesses bestowed upon me by YY. HH. Although discharged from Your Honours' service I shall ever be a faithful and zealous servant and a champion of the Company's interests, ever ready to use all my efforts in furthering them. I beg and entreat YY. HH. to grant me, who have now served for more than twenty-nine years, that favour, and not to postpone it longer. Once more I say *Bis dat qui cito dat,* so that I may spend the remainder of my days in quietness and peace with my children upon the plantation. There should be some interval between the affairs of this world and one's exit therefrom.

Further, I take the liberty of begging YY. HH. to grant me the same favour as was shown to Mr Spoors and to let me keep the ration of meat and flour together with about six slaves; most of those I have are old, worn-out folk of no use whatever upon a plantation, among them being some who have lived with me since the day I arrived in this country and to whom I have got accustomed.

I ask for no pension, salary or provisions; that would be very unreasonable, for the Honble. Co. has already burdens enough without being saddled with such unnecessary ones. I would indeed ask for nothing did I not require it and were I not convinced of Your Honours' goodness towards me.

I have taken the liberty of addressing a similar and most earnest petition by this ship to His Serene Highness[1]

[1] William V, Prince of Orange, Hereditary Stadholder of the United Provinces and Governor-General of the West India Company.

and to His Highness' Representative, and have asked my friends to be good enough to support me therein.

Notwithstanding this, I shall not lose sight of the voyage to Europe if the Lord grant me strength, but would like to have obtained my discharge before that and to have been able to hand everything over properly to my successor, in which case my stay would not necessarily be so limited. My children, seeing my helpless state, my incessant work and care are also constantly begging me to resign my office and to come and live quietly with them. I would like to go with honour, yet if it last longer this can scarcely be by reason of the amount of worry and opposition I have to contend with. To cope therewith properly youth and strength are required, but not a worn-out decrepit old man.

Therefore I humbly entreat YY. HH. graciously to permit me to resign my office and to thank His Serene Highness and YY. HH. for so many favours and benefits received, of which I will all my life retain a grateful remembrance, and while imploring the Lord's blessing I will, until my successor's arrival, endeavour to do my duty according to my means.

From the accompanying letter from Mr Clarke respecting his ship YY. HH. will see what that gentleman's sentiments and displeasure are. What will they be now after the receipt of my letter informing him of Your Honours' prohibition to import slaves for his plantations? It would grieve me exceedingly if we came to lose so wealthy a planter and one so profitable to the Colony, and yet I fear it will come to it. I expect further letters from him before the departure of this ship.

[Inclosure.]

Barbadoes, 14th Sept., 1766.

His Excellency L. Storm van 's Gravesande Esq.

Dear Sir,

I had the honour to receive your Excellency's Favour by Capt. Dobby and by Captain Carberry and am much obliged to you for the Intelligence you have given me with Respect to y^e^ Disputes between the different Chambers of the West India Company. I am still of opinion with your Excellency that our Colony will be soon made free. If not, we nevertheless shall be upon a much better footing with Middelburg than heretofore. They talk of a Bank of Credit being established for the use of the Colony. Is that true? I am afraid it is too good news to be so. However, let us always hope for the best.

I am now to mention a circumstance to your Excellency which has given me great concern and which will also be attended with great Expence & Inconvenience unless your Excellency will comply with my Request. It is to permit the Ship St George Capt. Foott to load in the Colony without further Delay. I observe what your Excellency says on the subject & therefore to make all things easy, I have thought the best way was to purchase said Ship and to make a Dutch Bottom of her, which I have done from John Haslin Esq. who is attorney for the owners of said vessel; and Capt. Foott will present the Bill of Sale to your Excellency when he has the honour of waiting upon you. The ship therefore is now the Property of Mr Peter de Bruyn of Middelburg and myself, and I intreat your Excellency to grant to Capt. Foot the necessary Dutch Papers to enable him to pursue his Voyage to Middelburg. I will be security for his landing his Cargoe at Middelburg and I beg the Favour of your Excellency to give him some coffee &c. on freight, and to recommend him to your Friends. It is very likely that this ship will be kept in the Dimmerary Trade. If not, I shall soon get another to be entirely at my disposal, for at present, I find it is a difficult matter to get what we want on Board of some ships in y^e^ trade.

I recommend Capt. Foot very strenuously to your Excellency, because I would not have him delayed longer on any account. It has been very expensive already and although the Company has forbid any Ships belonging to other Ports than those of Zeeland

from trading to the Colony, yet I presume that was chiefly meant to prevent the Ships from Amsterdam and not those wherein I & the other Inhabitants were interested.

Your Excellency will be pleased to observe that I am a Burgher of Middelburg as well as of Demerary & therefore I have as good a Right to load my Ship in Dimmerary as any man whatever & I expect that no Hindrance be given to Capt. Foott. I shall therefore be much obliged to you to give him his necessary Papers as soon as possible.

Such frequent oppositions make it appear as if the whole Colony were my Ennemies; and for what cause, they themselves cannot tell, nor can I conceive, unless it proceeds from Envy. I am however easy about the Matter; but at the same time determined, if these Proceedings continue, to draw my Interest out of Demerary as soon as possible; for notwithstanding I shall lose considerably by it, yet it surely is much better for me to have one Half of my Property secured, than to run the Risque of losing the whole, and indeed I had better suffer a great deal, than to be eternally fatigued with Complaints.

I beg my best Respects to your good Family & particularly to my God-Daughter and am with much Truth & Attachment

Dear Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient hble servant

GEDNEY CLARKE.

Both from the point of view of territorial limits and that of international law the despatch from which the following extracts are taken is one of Storm's best. It contains in a very short space a complete bird's-eye view of the way in which the Director-General was watching all the various boundaries of his colony. Written in a cramped hand, and comprising about 19,000 *words in twenty-one folio pages, it was commenced, as a side-note shows, on January* 6.

P.R.O. 473/37

March 20, 1767.

(Extracts)

Concerning the matter of Barima and the case of Rose, I have the honour to inform YY. HH. that we, as well as the Spaniards, regard the River Barima as the boundary division of the two jurisdictions, the east bank being the Company's territory, and the west bank Spanish.

Fearing, however, because there is a dearth of competent and discreet persons, and because the work was getting as dangerous for the Spaniards as for us—fearing, I say, that my envoy would also come to the west bank, I have in two consecutive letters given the Governor of Guayana a circumstantial account of the matter, and asked him to send some men to help us clear out this nest.

His Honour did not answer those letters, but sent me a verbal message by Vicente Franco, one of the principal colonists of Guayana, that it was impossible for him to send men on account of the great distance and the lack of boats, &c., and that the best thing would be to let those evil-doers fight it out.

Thereupon I sent the Postholder of Moruka my orders, being careful to charge him to avoid the Spanish bank but not the islands lying in the river, because these were uncertain territory. He followed my orders faithfully, Rose having been apprehended on our shore.

I am fully acquainted with the rule, *Extra territorium suum jus dicenti enim impune non paretur*; but it is not applicable to the Resolution of the Court in this matter, because—

1. The east bank being in our jurisdiction, the Court can enforce its order there.

2. Because I think that the Court certainly has the power to forbid its citizens and colonists to go to any places

when such is considered to be inexpedient or dangerous for the Colony[1].

The resolution concerning charts of the allotments is being carried out and several have already been deposited in the Office; then, as to the title-deeds, for which I get a fee of from seven to ten guilders each, I shall, in order that the colonists may have no cause for complaint, ask them to pay no more for three than for one. I hope the Secretary will do the same for his dues, but I doubt it.

I have no doubt whatever, Your Honours, that this Colony will, with the Lord's blessing, equal the most flourishing in a few short years. God grant that the motto of our commonwealth be better kept in mind—*Concordia res parvae crescunt*[2].

. . . . .

The war between the Caribs and the Accuways is still proceeding, but in a very half-hearted and sluggish manner, and there is great probability that it will soon be settled; this would already long have been done if the Postholder of Arinda had discharged his duty.

. . . . .

Having received the various reports of events that had occurred during my absence[3] I found several matters had gone otherwise than they should have done and these will cause me a deal of work and worry before I get them right again.

What am I to say, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs? I must speak out and cannot contain myself any longer.

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[1] All the above is in reply to the Directors' comments dated *Sept. 25, 1766* (see Note 2, p. 504). The addition of the second reason in the final paragraph was ingenious.

[2] See p. 267.

[3] Storm had been out to sound the channel at the mouth of the river where a sandbank had been long forming (see p. 507); he found that there was still room enough for entering, but that there was, as he had feared, difficulty in tacking out.

I am grieved to my very soul and cannot suppress my chagrin when I see and find all my kindness, indulgence and courtesy rewarded by the vilest ingratitude, when people who, as the whole Colony knows, have nought but obligations towards me, seek only to thwart me and to do me every possible harm and injury, speaking of me in the most malicious way, saying what is true and untrue, and not disdaining even the most detestable and palpable lies. Mr Spoors has also some very good reasons for complaint; he, however, thinks it is but for a short time and therefore says little about it.

I should require some half-dozen sheets of paper if I would take the trouble to inform YY. HH. circumstantially of these various matters and to unburden my overflowing bosom. But having had the honour by "De Sarah" humbly to entreat His Serene Highness and YY. HH. for my discharge I will be silent and await my successor with impatience.

In God's name, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, do I implore YY. HH. to release Your Honours' old and (as his conscience tells him) faithful servant from purgatory. I cannot possibly endure it any longer or I shall die of grief. Do not, Your Honours, I beg, grudge me a little rest if it please the Lord to lengthen my days still a little. I cannot possibly hold out any longer and cannot therefore be of any use or service to YY. HH. or the Colony.

O tempora, O mores I may indeed say, but I will leave that matter now and weary YY. HH. no more. God grant that YY. HH. may find a competent, sensible and steadfast man in my place, for otherwise, be he indulgent, especially in the beginning, the Colony will soon be ruled in despotic manner by minor officials and so turn to chaos. For amongst the burghers there are some not bereft of sense who have publicly told me that they were willing to be ruled and commanded by a Governor but by no other, and

that they hoped I would not take it amiss if they showed their teeth.

. . . . . .

I was very agreeably surprised to see what progress had been made with the work at the Fort. Since I entrusted Commandant Bakker with its superintendence it has advanced so much that everyone who visits it is surprised; many, too, who were defaulters in the matter of sending their slaves have since the New Year done better in view of the Commandant's threats, especially as I allow him one half the fines imposed by the Court (the other half going to the poor), so that it will soon be finished. They are now working at the drawbridge and lock, after which the batteries and then the crown-work will be put into order. But stones, stones, these are what is wanted, likewise iron, there being no more in the smithies. Stones for the crown-work will be fetched from the old Fort[1] in the punt.

The newly-arrived surgeon, E. Couzijn, having called upon me in Demerara I asked him to go and see Saffon, the surveyor, on his way to Essequibo and to examine his eyes[2]. Having done this he reported to me that there was some chance of stopping the constant pain but that it was quite impossible to restore the sight, since the *nervi optici* were quite corroded or eaten away by the former remedies applied and that there was no cure for this. He will send me a report in writing.

. . . . . .

Now I shall have the honour to take up the remaining unanswered Articles in Your Honours' former letters, so far as time will permit me.

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[1] Kijkoveral (see p. 474).

[2] It is interesting, when one takes into consideration the despondency shown by Storm in an earlier portion of this very despatch, to note the alertness and versatility of his mind—how no detail escapes him; here, for instance, is a wonderful jump from the state of the fort batteries to that of the Surveyor's eyes.

In reply to Your Honours' letter of the 19th June, I come first to the Article concerning the Postholders.

It is certain that we are gradually becoming more aware how extremely important this matter is to the service of the Honourable Company and the maintenance of the Colony. Up to the present I have not had a single one that I could call good or even passable, and I have even been obliged to send the one from Arinda, who had been under arrest in the Fort here for about four weeks, back to the Post, not having been able to find a proper person to send in his place, notwithstanding that I made inquiries on all sides. The mulattoes of this country, who, understanding the languages, would be the most fit, are much too lazy; they are, moreover, unwilling to submit to the least form of subjection, and having not the slightest ambition nor any desire for money, nothing is to be done with them, so that, as I have no good soldiers, I can find no remedy for this.

. . . . . .

Your Honours' prophecy concerning the Indian spy from the Spaniards was a perfectly correct one, because the man has really managed to escape. But he could not have been kept a prisoner for ever, and the Post in Cuyuni now being re-established it does not matter so much.

It is unfortunate that the Postholder there has had to pay the usual toll exacted from all who go there for the first time, he having had a severe illness from which he has not yet quite recovered.

For the reasons given in my former letters I have not yet sent him any soldiers, but two assistants who are acquainted with the Indian languages. I hear that the dwellings are constructed, and large bread-gardens are planted; this work is being daily continued, and the Indians are beginning to come in slowly.

Passing now to Your Honours' letter of the 8th September[1], there is still left for me to answer:

Firstly, concerning the Pyramids. Up to the present it has been impossible for me to get anyone upon whom I can in any way rely in order to make a careful inspection and description of the same, however much I may desire and long to have it done, never having lost that object out of my sight, as being one by which indeed some discoveries of the greatest importance to the learned world might be made. There are no nations known in antiquity besides the two[2] mentioned by YY. HH. who have made their work of such constructions, and it not being possible to suppose that any colonies of the same ever by any chance came this way, such increases curiosity very much.

With regard to the Phœnicians and Carthaginians it is by no means so improbable that they came to South America[3]; those people are known to have sent out colonies far and wide, as navigation went in those days, and it may well be that some of their ships being driven away from land and far out to sea by a storm, got caught

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[1] See p. 502, Note 2. [2] The Egyptians and the Chinese.

[3] It is of course a well-known fact that many theories have been put forward concerning pre-Columbian discoveries of America, mostly ascribed to Northmen. We quote at random but a few works of modern times on the subject.

Anderson (R. B.), *America not discovered by Columbus.* pp. 164. Chicago, *1883.* [With a bibliography.]

Vining (E. P.), *An inglorious Columbus; evidence that Hwui Shan discovered America.* pp. 788. New York, *1885.*

Brown (M. A.), *Icelandic discoverers of America.* pp. 213. London, *1887.*

De Costa (B. F.), *Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by Northmen.* pp. 196. Albany, *1890.*

Horsford (E. N.), *The Landfall of Leif Erikson, A.D. 1000.* pp. 148. Boston, *1892.*

Stephens (T.), *Discovery of America by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the 12th century.* pp. 249. London, *1893.*

Neukomm (E.), *Les Dompteurs de la Mer. Les Normands en Amérique depuis le X^e^ jusqu'au XV^e^ siècle.* pp. 295. Paris, *1895.*

in the trade winds and were compelled to go on, when they must necessarily have reached these shores[1].

I feel strengthened in this idea by the fact that in certain places between Demerara and Essequibo I have myself found (upon the indications of Indians) many fragments of tiles, baked stone, iron-work, mortars and vices, together with other stone instruments of an entirely different make and composition than those of to-day and the use of which was totally unknown to our Indians, who could give no information whatever about them[2]. I have myself taken the spade and pick-axe in hand, dug many out and sent them to Professor Allamand[3] at Leiden[4], and according to the Indians there are many places where much more could be found. No one will be so stupid as to imagine that these things have grown there but to know how and by whom they were brought *hoc opus hic labor est.* But I am like to lose myself in a dissertation and abuse Your Honours' attention.

I do not think there is any gold or silver under or near those pyramids, but they are called by the same name amongst the Indians as those places where those metals

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[1] The Directors' reply, dated *August 24, 1767*, ran :—

"The judicious reflections communicated to us regarding the founders of the pyramids in question are so many proofs of your familiarity with ancient history, and if there is any means of making further discoveries about them or of obtaining accurate drawings of their situation, size, structure, and other outward features, such would be particularly agreeable to us, and we are disposed to hope for the same from your sagacity."

[2] It will prove interesting to read in connection with this subject im Thurn's remarks on Indian antiquities and especially on shell-mounds or "kitchen-middens" (*Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 389–428).

[3] See pp. 370, 371.

[4] A search, kindly instituted by Professor J. M. Janse, of Leiden, has failed to lead to the discovery of any of these remains in the Ethnographical Museum of that town, where, as the Professor says, they "should have been."

are found, to wit, that the Jawaho, that is, Satan, has his dwelling-place there.

And that there are rich mines of those metals in that district, and especially in Cuyuni, I believe to be as certain as my own existence, and I think that my reasons for such belief are well-grounded.

I shall try to get a good honest interpreter, and having found such an one will bind him by oath.

I can rely upon the assistance of the Caribs in case we have to meet violence with violence, but so long as circumstances demand soft measures they are no earthly use to me, their hatred against the Spaniards being deep-rooted and great.

. . . . .

Thank God, things are progressing exceedingly well in Demerara; Mr Spoors, being recently there, was greatly surprised to see the changes for the better which had been made since his last visit. Of all products I see none so promising and of such astonishing success as the cocoa in the boggy soil. This was tried in the low grounds upon the advice of some Spaniards; a few thousand shrubs about a hand's breadth high which I had planted at "Soestdijk" last July I now found to be over three feet high and many already developing crowns. It is the same with Ruysch, van der Lott and others who took up this product and are now beginning to gather the fruit. One cocoa tree, six years old, that I had planted in the bog soil as an experiment, yielded last July 160 burrs[1]. Cotton would do exceedingly well if the seasons were somewhat more regular.

[1] *Beursen* in the original. Though Murray's *New English Dictionary* would have *burr* (or *bur*) to signify something rough or prickly, it does not profess to give the derivation of the term with any certainty. The cocoa pod or husk, in which from 30 to 40 of the beans are found, is neither prickly nor very rough, yet it may well be that our English word *burr* is directly derived from or is cognate with the Dutch *beurs*, commonly meaning a purse; in any case, this seems

By the weather that we have now had for the past four weeks or so all the ripe cotton on the trees has been ruined....

Eight English barques are now lying off the Fort and three in Demerara, so that there is at present no lack of either horses or provisions; within about three weeks more than 120 horses have been sold and 32 more are being offered for sale. Three ships in addition to the above make a fine sight and I have never seen the harbour so full before....

After apologizing for having omitted to advise the Directors concerning a bill of exchange drawn at a very busy moment Storm goes on to say:—

It is impossible for YY. HH. to comprehend how manifold my duties are becoming; it is really marvellous that I do not forget half of them. YY. HH. have seen that the Court of Justice refuses to sit in my absence. Its next meeting is on February 2 and we shall be unable to get through the work already on the agenda in less than three days, and the parties to all those matters come to me previously to discuss them; this is necessary in order to give me a clear idea of everything and saves the Court much time.

The "Spoor" will not depart for quite another fortnight though she would already have done so were she not waiting for the coffee, which cannot be washed in this rainy weather. Before she goes I ought to make out,

The Register for the year 1766.

The rations list.

The draft concerning acreage dues.

The list I am making of produce sent over in the above

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a fitting opportunity to apply it to the cocoa pod, for which there appears to be no generally-accepted lay designation.

year, which I have deemed necessary for reasons I hope to have the honour to give when I have finished it.

The list of the Company's servants.

All these are things which I must do myself if I want them well and properly done. And then there are the requisitions, &c., which I must go through carefully, as well as the lists of slave rations and many other matters; everything must go through my hands and I cannot trust others to do the least thing. In addition to this the inventories are still to be taken, these requiring at least a whole week.

Kindly consider, YY. HH., whether I have not to have my wits about me and whether it is to be wondered at if I occasionally forget something...

On account of all this work I was not able to go to church this morning, though I was already dressed for it and should have liked to go, especially as Dominie Lingius, who continues to give great satisfaction, has come from Demerara to preach.

. . . . . .

Your Honours' creole, Tampoko, has come down the river to-day according to my instructions, and has reported to me that the Postholder at Cuyuni was fairly well again, that the Capucine of the Mission close to the river was daily engaged in inciting the Acuways and the Caribs against each other, and that in this way he was spreading trouble throughout the river. The creole made me laugh by saying, "If my lord and master gives me orders to do so, I will bring the priest here to the Fort within three weeks, bound hand and foot," and I really believe he would do it.

I told him that he must be very careful not to undertake the least thing against the Mission, but that he must keep a watchful eye upon all the doings of the Spaniards, and expressly forbid the Caribs, in my name, to molest our Acuway subjects. All of which he promised to do.

My mind having been turned towards obtaining some proper basis for the assessment of taxes I compiled a list of the produce exported in the year 1766 and found it to be as follows:—

3753 hhds of sugar,
343 ½-hhds of sugar,
2186 bags of coffee,
51 casks of coffee,
87 bales of cotton,
49 casks of annatto dye,
7 bags of cocoa,

without enumerating kiltum, lemon-juice, tobacco, &c.

. . . . .

Permit me, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, to end this despatch with the words with which my highly esteemed friend, Mr J. J. Mauricius, concluded his speech before the Directors of the Society of Surinam[1], in so far as

[1] Jan Jacob Mauricius was born at Amsterdam *May 3, 1692*. A remarkably precocious child, he preached before a congregation of hundreds of people at the age of six and a half, entered Leiden University at 13 and took his doctor's degree in law in his sixteenth year. A deputy of the States of Holland and West Friesland, a *pensionaris ad vitam* and burgomaster, he was in *1725* sent as Resident to Hamburg to represent the Netherlands in the Circle of Lower Saxony; in *1733* his title was raised to that of Minister and his salary to 6000 guilders. In *1742* the Chartered Company of Surinam offered him the governorship of that colony; in that post he spent nine miserable years, a victim of cabals and intrigues, and then returning home was forced to undergo a trial from which he issued victoriously. It was on *Aug. 1, 1753*, that he delivered the memorable speech from which Storm quotes. Two years later he was sent to Hamburg for the second time as Netherlands Minister.

The literary talents of the man were as eminent and varied as his career—a full list of his prose and poetical works (the former being largely composed of treatises on history, law, the drama and geographical matters) is given in *Van der Aa, Biographisch Woordenboek*. A collation of Storm's extract from Mauricius' speech with the version published by C. A. van Sijpestein in his life of the Surinam Governor shows the wording to be fairly though not absolutely identical—Storm was probably quoting from a MS. copy or from one subse-

they are applicable to my condition, and inasmuch as they correspond precisely with the feelings of my heart and soul.

I may say with His Honour, "*Sat Patriæ Priamoque datum*[1], and there is naught left for me but to praise God on my bended knees and to thank Him that having led me since my youth He has not abandoned me in my old age; that He has not only continually shielded me from the many dangers of sea, of sickness and of evil men, but has also supported my mind and strength that these did not fail under the burden and the vexations whereby I was oppressed and provoked.

"Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, after God it is YY. HH. whom I have most respectfully to thank for all the benefits which YY. HH. have conferred upon me and mine.

"Let me be permitted, Your Honours, on this occasion to recommend myself and mine to Your Honours' protection and though YY. HH. are on the point of discharging me from the Company's service I pray that YY. HH. may always maintain me in that favour with which YY. HH.

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quently slightly improved. In the same booklet (*Jan Jacob Mauricius, Gouverneur-Generaal van Suriname...*'s Gravenhage, *1858*, pp. 175) we are reminded of the fact that it was to Governor Mauricius that La Condamine, after having vainly waited five months at Cayenne for a ship, was indebted for his passage home in *1744*: the incident is recorded in his *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Amérique* (Paris, *1745*, p. 212), where he speaks of "la réponse extrêmement polie que je reçûs de M. Mauricius, Gouverneur de la Colonie Hollandoise de Surinam; il m'offroit sa maison à Surinam, le choix d'un embarquement pour la Hollande, et un passeport même en cas de rupture entre la France et les Etats Généraux." The explorer reached Paramaribo on *Aug. 28*, *1744*, was well entertained by the Governor and set out on *Sept. 2* for Europe; but the chiefest interest to us of all this is that he carried amongst his papers whilst visiting Storm's friend the fragmentary diary of Storm's emissary, Horstman, which was 150 years later to be used as evidence of the first importance in determining the boundaries of British Guiana (see pp. 61, 62 and 167–174).

[1] Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 291.

have been pleased to honour me. On my side, although about to lose the title of Director-General of Essequibo, I shall always be in name and deed Your Honours' grateful, zealous and faithful servant, and when with my pen, with my lips or with my whole person I can ever be of any service to YY. HH. I shall always consider it a duty and a great honour to give YY. HH. proofs of my profound respect and of my true and sincere gratitude. And as long as there is a drop of blood in my veins I shall never cease to pray God that He may shower blessings upon Your Honours' persons and honoured families, that He may make Your Honours' rule happy and steadfast and let the Colony flourish and thrive under Your Honours' sway."

These, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, are my sincere wishes. I have now had the honour of serving YY. HH. more than nine-and-twenty years and have endeavoured to use the means given me by the Almighty as far as possible for the service of the Honble Co. and the interests of the Colony, but *Homo sum et nihil humani a me alienum puto*[1], and it being *humanum errare* it cannot well be otherwise than that in so long a service and with so much opposition I have occasionally made mistakes, for which I humbly ask Your Honours' pardon. I console myself with an easy conscience that those mistakes were never made with evil intent and that I was never unwilling to remedy them when brought to my notice, for it being *humanum errare*, it is *angelicum resipiscere*, *diabolicum perseverare*.

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[1] *Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.* Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos*, I. i.

P.R.O. 473/50

March 23, 1767.

(Extract)

I am anxious to have some tidings from Cuyuni, because I received a note from the manager van der Heyde yesterday in which he informs me that the creole, Tampoko, had been to see his son at "Old Duynenburg," and had reported that he had heard from a few Indians that a party of Indians had been sent by the Spanish Mission to make a raid upon the Post, and had completely sacked it, and that he was going to find out how true that was. That Post is a terrible eyesore to the Spaniards and there is no doubt that it stands in the way of their attaining some important aims. As soon as I have reliable tidings I shall deliberate with the Court what is to be done in the matter.

P.R.O. 473/51

March 27, 1767.

(Extracts)

Therefore (may it please YY. HH. not to take it amiss that I express myself so frankly—the importance of the matter forces me to it), if it is desired to prevent the ruin of the Colony, the three following points should be taken into serious consideration and be put into effect as soon as possible :—

1. To insist with the Court of Spain upon redress for the grievances, and to ask there for measures to make those in command obey the orders of His Catholic Majesty, for they really laugh at them.

2. Two good, armed, and well-manned coast-guards, one in the mouth and one outside the river, to put an end to all the desertions.

3. The fortifying of Demerara, in order that nothing go out of that river without being seen.

And if no redress can be obtained at the Court of Spain, to use reprisals against the Missions, situated on our frontier, even on our territory; I think they would then be brought to reason.

This is concisely what I think it my duty to propose to YY. HH.

. . . . . .

A starving beggar cannot long for a crust of bread as I long for the arrival of my successor. Though it is perfectly impossible for me to think of and to do everything it is, however, my unshirkable duty to see after and to care for all. That Your Honours' commands are executed; that the works go on properly; that the Colony is kept in order and that its growth and progress are advanced; that all accidents and misfortunes are prevented as far as possible, or unavoidably occurring, are remedied; that Your Honours' plantations and servants are kept in good order and that the latter get their due; that the soldiery is kept in proper discipline but at the same time gently treated, not oppressed or cheated, as too often happens—in a word, everything rests upon my shoulders and did I not have a Commander in Demerara[1] and a Commandant[2] here upon whom I can trust I would be in misery and could not possibly go on. Some may think that I speak of these two in that way because they are my sons-in-law, but I have the honour to assure YY. HH. that even if they were my sons I would not spare them in the least if they deserved blame.

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[1] J. C. van den Heuvel (cf. p. 597).
[2] Johannes Bakker.

P.R.O. 473/53

April 21, 1767.

(Extracts)

How hard it is, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, how hard, I say, that I, who always strove with heart and soul to promote union and harmony, used every possible indulgence, always neglected my own interests to further those of peace and tranquillity, should, in the last days of my administration, be involved in such a chaos of confusion, and plainly see and experience that those who always appeared to be my best friends were in reality my bitterest enemies and calumniators. As far as concerns myself personally or my office I would care little for all this barking and take no note thereof, for *Mens sibi conscia recti*[1] has no need to fear calumny.

Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantis tiranni
Mente quatit solida[2].

But now that downright disobedience reigns and the most infamous libels are circulated, and all this publicly, I, as well as Mr Spoors, will be compelled to do what I never have done, that is, to play the Fiscal's part in all its rigour; an example must certainly be made to serve as a deterrent to others. This, too, will be of great advantage to my successor, for he will immediately be able to see with what sort of people he will have to deal.

. . . . . .

For some time past I have felt very unwell. Age brings many infirmities. I intend, God willing, to go to

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[1] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 604. [2] Horace, *Odes*, III. iii.

Demerara immediately after the conclusion of the next Court meeting (which I fear will last a full week) and there await Your Honours' esteemed reply to my letters by "De Sarah," skipper F. Barker, which departed on the 4th of January last, in order to act in accordance therewith.

When there I hope to make an effort to see whether I can get the burghers to agree to the proposition I have made for fortifying that river, building the church, &c. I have however reason to fear that I shall not be successful, especially as my opponents have the dominie on their side.

To what chagrin and difficulties is not he exposed who occupies any important office! It is true that it always has been so all the world over and will probably remain so, but it is misery to the sufferers; they have need of great strength of mind and of the special support of Providence in order not to succumb. Truly, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, I might say with Molière's *Misanthrope* :—

Trahi de toutes parts, accablé d'injustices,
Je vais sortir d'un gouffre où triomphent les vices
A chercher sur la terre un morceau écarté
Où d'être homme d'honneur on ait la liberté[1].

I hope that the Gracious Ruler of All will in His mercy grant that I may spend the little life that is left me in peace and quietness, untrammelled by the cares of office, and that He may have moved the hearts of His Serene Highness and of VV. HH. graciously to accord me the request I made by "De Sarah" and subsequently repeated.

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[1] Act. v. Sc. 4. The third line should read

Et chercher sur la terre un endroit écarté.

This is pretty good evidence that Storm quoted from memory only.

P.R.O. 473/59

Demerara, June 27, 1767.

(Extract)

Mr Spoors sent me word in writing that the Spanish deserters have arrived in Essequibo, and that there is a sergeant among them. They give the harsh treatment of the new Governor as a reason for deserting. I immediately answered him saying that I wished them to be sent out of the Colony at the first opportunity, for I do not know what there may be behind this; I do not trust the whole business, especially since commerce with Orinoco is entirely stopped, and even the fishery is absolutely at a standstill, which has never happened before, and which is exceedingly embarrassing to Your Honours' plantations and to the whole Colony.

At the same time I received a report from the Post in Cuyuni that the Indians are being bribed and incited to such a degree that they are unwilling to do the least thing for the Postholder, and that when he orders them to go alongside the passing boats to see whether there are any runaways in them they obstinately refuse to do so, and when he threatens to shoot upon them they reply that they have bows and arrows with which to answer.

The fortification of these two Posts, Cuyuni and Moruka, becoming a matter of greater necessity every day (there being, indeed, *periculum in mora*), I hope that some good soldiers, and especially Protestants, will be sent by the "Laurens en Maria[1]."

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[1] The usual unsatisfactory (and in this case really incredible) reply of the Directors, dated *Sept. 21, 1767*, ran :—

"We hope that you will have found means of frustrating the evil designs of the Spaniards against the Post in Cuyuni; and, however persuaded of the necessity of strengthening both that Post and the one in Moruka, we have, nevertheless, been unable to send by this

P.R.O. 473/63

Demerara, June 27, 1767.

P.S.[1] Just after signing this I receive by an express messenger from Commandant Bakker the painful tidings that Mr N. Rousselet de la Jarie died between 4 and 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 24th inst.[2] Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, what confusion this will cause! What work for me! I am terrified to think of it. I have immediately written back to have the office kept in proper order.

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ship a greater number of soldiers, having had trouble enough to find available ship-room for these few.

By a subsequent ship we shall again try to send some good soldiers, and, as we informed you in our ample missive, to continue doing so from time to time until the garrison shall reach its full quota of fifty men, and be in proper order."

A further reply, dated *Nov. 28, 1768*, ran :—

"Against the desertion of the slaves from the Colony to Orinoco we also know no other means of provision than the projected coast-guards, concerning which we have more than once expressed ourselves. We have repeatedly instructed our Deputies in the Assembly of Ten to propose there that the States-General be again urged to have emphatic representations made to the Court of Spain for restitution of the slaves who run away from Curaçao to the coasts of Cora and from Essequibo to Orinoco; but, no report having yet been made thereof, we cannot as yet inform you of the result. In the meanwhile, the measures which have been taken, of letting no slaves pass without permits from their masters, and of encouraging the free Indians to bring in the runaways, are, to be sure, in themselves very good, if carried out, but still it seems to us that they are in no way sufficient effectively to hinder and stop the runaways, and, if you mean to do things properly, it will be necessary to determine, and the sooner the better, upon the purchase and retention of the aforesaid coast-guards."

[1] This is not a postscript to the preceding despatch, but to another of the same date.

[2] Nicolas Rousselet de la Jarie was appointed Secretary *ad interim* upon the failure of Spoors' sight in *1764* (see p. 483) and his appointment was later made absolute when Spoors' resignation was accepted. In *August, 1766*, he proceeded to the Orinoco on a mission respecting the restitution of fugitive slaves (see p. 509) but returned the next

P.R.O. 473/71

Demerara, July 24, 1767.

(Extracts)

The letter-bag of "De Jonge Jan" closes to-day and in a fortnight's time that of "Het Land Canaan," so that although I am scarcely able to write for half-an-hour at a stretch I am obliged to take up the pen in order to acquit myself of my task as far as possible. I am very weak and suffering intolerable pain, sleepless all night long and, unless the Lord graciously better it, unable to bear up longer.

. . . . .

Among many other insolent utterances the aforementioned Richter[1] said "The Colony desires perforce to be under Amsterdam and the two chiefs"—meaning the Commander and myself—"are ever striving and contriving to make it so[2]."

Although I am perfectly certain that YY. HH. and all in Zeeland who know me are convinced of the contrary, whereof I gave abundant proofs when in Europe and subsequently, and of which I have complete proof still in hand, such a calumny grieves me to the soul. And since I understand that to bolster it up use is being made of the letter, dated November 26, with which His Serene Highness graciously honoured me in reply to mine of August 12 I take the liberty of sending YY. HH. herewith a copy of my

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month with an unsatisfactory reply (see p. 510). His widow appears to have acted in a somewhat truculent manner (in many instances recorded by Storm but not reproduced in this work); we ought, however, to be grateful to her for having drawn from the Director-General that one expression (see p. 624) savouring more of a Schopenhauer than of a pope.

[1] Manager of the Company's plantation "Duynenburg" and therefore one of Storm's subordinates.

[2] Referring to the dispute between the Chambers, for particulars of which see pp. 143–145.

letter and the duplicate of the answer I received by "De Laurens en Maria."

. . . . . .

I have received a Report from the Postholder of Maroco that on account of the bad treatment received at the hands of the present Governor of Orinoco, all the Warouws, thousands of whom live on the islands in the mouth of Orinoco[1], are fleeing from there, and that hundreds of them have already arrived in Barima. Our fishery is therefore knocked on the head for some time, unless that tribe should resolve to exchange blow for blow; they are numerous enough to do so, but courage fails them, for of all the tribes known to us it is the one which is most afraid of fire-arms.

Inclosure I.]

[Essequibo, August 12, 1766[2].]

Monseigneur,

Le temps sy longtemps desiré étant enfin arrivé où nous jouyssons de bonheur de voir Votre Altesse Sérénissime à la tête de notre République[3], j'espère que V. A. S. voudra bien excuser la liberté que je prends de féliciter V. A. S. à son heureux avènement au Gouvernement priant le Tout Puissant de vouloir combler V. A. S. de ses plus

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[1] See p. 343.

[2] The copy bears no date or signature, but the former is given in Storm's covering letter to the Directors, p. 547. Neither is it in Storm's handwriting, and the errors may possibly have to be attributed to the copyist.

[3] William V, Prince of Orange, was born *March 8, 1748*. His succession to the Stadholdership of the United Provinces followed, as a matter of course, upon the attainment of his majority at the age of 18. Like his father, he became Governor-General of the West India Company, and we see that Storm lost little time in addressing him direct in that capacity.

précieuses Benedictions de Lui accorder un Gouvernement long et heureux de bénir tous ses desseins et entreprises, une santé parfaite et les forces nécessaires pour ces grands et penibles emploijs et contentement le plus parfait.

Les termes me manquent pour exprimer à Votre Altesse Sérénissime les vœux sinceres que je fais au Tout Puissant pour le bonheur et la conservation de V. A. S. attaché depuis l'âge de raison inviolablement à l'Illustre Maison à laquelle Notre République doit son être et sa conservation, honoré de la protection et bienveillance de Feu Leurs Altesse Sérénissime et Royale Père et Mère de V. A. S. dont j'ay eu le bonheur de recevoir tout marques et dont le Souvenir me fait encore couler les larmes des yeux je serais le plus ingrat des hommes si mes vœux les plus ardents et les plus sincères n'étoient point pour le bonheur de Votre Altesse Serenissime.

C'est ce qui met le comble à notre satisfaction est la nouvelle reçue par Barbade que nous avons aussi le bonheur d'avoir Votre Altesse Serenissime à la tête de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales. Permettez moy, Monseigneur, de prendre la liberté de recommander particulièrement à V. A. S. cet Colonie et principalement notre Rivier de Demerary qui n'étant que dans son enfance a besoin d'une protection puissante. Commencé en l'année 1746[1] j'ay le plaisir de voir que nonobstant mille traverses et tous les efforts qu'on a fait pour empecher son accroissement d'y voir à present passé cent plantages qui avancent journellement, la où son ancienne Essequebo n'en a qu'un peu plus de soixante que seroit ce si elle avait reçu le moindre encouragement? Daignez, Monseigneur, de la prendre

[1] This refers only to the allotment of plantations; there had been a Company's post or trading-place there long prior to that date (cf. p. 217).

sous Votre Protection les vœux de tous les habitans sans exception ont été depuis bien longtemps de voir l'evenement du present et leur joye ne pouvoit etre plus eclatante qu'elle n'a été à la reception de cette heureuse nouvelle.

Permettez moy, Monseigneur, que je profite de cette occasion pour prendre la liberté de recommander tres humblement en la protection et bonnes graces de Votre Altesse Serenissime ma personne et celle d'un fils unique[1], reste de sept, qui est présentement en Europe pour son education; l'ainé[2] de ces sept frères a été nomme à l'age [de] 18 ans[3] par une grace de bonté singulière de Feu Son Altesse Sérénissime, pour premier Commandeur de Demerarij en l'année 1750; il n'a pas joui longtemps de cette grace.

J'ay à present l'honneur d'avoir servi la Compagnie passé vingt-huit années avec des gages modiques, que je ne suis guerre plus riche qu'a mon arrivée dans ce pays ayant toujours en pour une regle inviolable dans mes actions de preferer en toute occasion les interests de la Compagnie et de la Colonie à mes interests particuliers, toute mon ambition n'a été dirigée qu'à m'acquitter fidellement de mon devoir.

Mon âge avancé presentement ne m'en laisse point d'autre que de finir mon long service avec honneur de passer le peu de temps qu'il plaira au Tout-Puissant de m'accorder encore en repose et de voir ce cher fils placé et en état de subsister avant mon départ de ce monde.

Mais je ne m'apperçois pas que j'abus d'un temps précieux et de la patience de Votre Altesse Serenissime; ainsi je finis en prenant encore une fois la liberté d'assurer

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[1] Jeremias, born in *1749*. Cf. pp. 45, 523 and 589.

[2] Jonathan Samuel.

[3] A singular error, for Jonathan was born *30 Nov.*, *1728*, and was therefore in his twenty-second year when appointed Commander.

Votre Altesse Serenissime que personne au monde ne peut être avec un plus profond respect,

Monseigneur,

De Votre Altesse Serenissime

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

[Inclosure II[1].]

Duplicat.

À Monsieur

Monsieur Storm de 's Gravezande,

Directeur General des Colonies de Rio Essequebo et Demerary.

Monsieur,

La lettre que vous m'avez adressée le 12e aout dernier, qui caractérise la bonté de votre cœur, votre attachement à tous vos devoirs, et vos bons sentimens pour moi et pour ma Maison, m'a fait grand plaisir. J'y vois surtout avec satisfaction que vos soins ont été suivis de succès à Demerary, et j'y reconnais la fidelité de vos services. Soyez persuadé, Monsieur, que rien ne pourra m'être plus agréable que de contribuer à la prosperité de la Colonie, dont la direction vous a été confiée, et que je me ferai pareillement un plaisir de donner en tems et lieux à votre fils des preuves de l'estime que j'ai pour son Père, et avec laquelle je suis sincèrement,

Monsieur

Très affectionné a vous servir

W. Pr. v. Orange.

La Haïe ce 26e Novemb. 1766.

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[1] It must have cost Storm a pang or two to part with this letter, which, although a duplicate, bears the autograph of the Stadholder.

P.R.O. 473/79

August 10, 1767.

(Extract)

A few Caribs, having come down from Upper Essequibo, have reported to Diderik Nelis, living up near the plantation "Oosterbeek," that there is neither Postholder nor assistant to be found at Post Arinda, and that they have not been seen for fourteen days; that the house is half ruined and the warehouse broken open and empty, and that they could not say whether the men had been murdered or had run away.

Nelis immediately gave notice of this at the Fort, and I have ordered someone to go up there and make inquiries into the matter.

I cannot believe that they were murdered, because these two men were kindness itself, and never offended any Indian, unless it be that the deed was done by a savage tribe from the interior; but then the latter would have been discovered in their march by the Caribs, who live in such great numbers round about there, unless it was done by those scoundrels themselves in order to get rid of their debts and obtain possession of the goods.

P.R.O. 473/90

September 6, 1767.

(Extracts)

We lose a great deal in E. Athing[1], who was an honest upright man. Perfectly acquainted with the Indian languages and having the uppermost plantation, he was as good as a Postholder, and faithfully reported all that took place amongst the Indians and especially amongst the Acuways living up in Demerary—a quarrelsome tribe which will not endure the least injustice and which is continually at war with the Caribs....The upper reaches of

[1] A planter whose death Storm had just reported.

that river are now quite undefended, which I fear will lead to many differences with the Acuways.

. . . . . .

An experience of many years has made me only too well acquainted with the Spaniards, and being convinced that not the least reliance is to be placed either upon their most solemn promises or even upon their oaths, I place no trust in them at all. Far be it from me to impute such evil sentiments or such infidelity to the Spanish nation as a whole; on the contrary I believe that honest, upright people are to be found amongst them as amongst other nations; such are, however, but thinly sown in Europe and America.

Their Governors, who exercise an absolutely despotic power in these parts, are only appointed for three or at most for five years, a period which they employ in scraping together as much money as possible *per fas* and *nefas*, and in oppressing and plundering the colonists in every way in order that when their term of office has expired and two inquisitors are sent with their successor by the Supreme Council to inquire into their conduct and to receive the complaints which every citizen is then free to make, they may be able to fill the hands of these officials and still have something left for themselves, in which case, be the complaints what they will, they themselves will come out white as snow, though, if they have not anything, they are sent in chains to Spain.

The red slaves are ostensibly set free on arriving there, but are compelled to stay at the Missions where they have to do more work than with us. The black slaves are sold, and the proceeds are said to go to the Royal Treasury, but that His Catholic Majesty sees much of them *hoc credat judæus Apella non ego.*

The last Governor of Orinoco was sharper. Having held office for about three years only, and having probably

been unable to scrape enough together in that short time he did not wait for the inquiry, but as soon as he heard that his successor was on the way he took possession of a barque that happened to be there, and placing in it all his property he made off, taking with him more than thirty of our runaway slaves; his destination is still unknown.

And really the necessity for adopting preventive measures is daily getting greater. There has again been cause for alarm upon Your Honours' plantation "Achtekerke," and on the 9th of August we discovered that upon our plantation, "Soestdijk[1]," another plot had been formed by about twenty slaves to run away to Orinoco.

This, too, is a plantation upon which the slaves are treated exceptionally well; their rations never fail for a single day, and they are never flogged except for most serious offences.

A great number, too, are missing here in Demerary, of whom it is not known whether they have gone into the bush or to Orinoco.

Last week the Arruwaks of Maheyka brought back two negroes who had run away from the plantation "Nieuw Amsterdam"; we at once rewarded them richly and treated them well to kiltum.

It is certain that the colonists themselves are greatly to blame for the numerous desertions. The Court has more than once issued orders that no one should send out slaves from their plantations without a pass from their master, and everyone has been charged to ask any slaves they see on the river for their pass, and to bring them to the Fort in case they have none. Few, however, have obeyed this order, and although slaves have gone about without passes, not one has been stopped and brought to the Fort. The slaves belonging to the Fort, who never go out with-

[1] Cf. p. 367.

out a pass, have frequently told me that no one has ever asked them for their pass except the Managers of the Honourable Company.

It is certain that if this order had been observed many a runaway would have been caught, and even had it been only two or three it would still have frightened the others.

. . . . . .

It seems to me that Mr Clarke wishes to leave Demerary, for I hear that all his plantations except one are for sale. A price has already been asked and offered for "Golden Grove," so Mr van der Sluys tells me. I am really sorry for this, Mr Clarke having been one of the strongest supporters of that river. This also greatly discourages the other English, all of whom are beginning to sing the same song.

. . . . . .

The creole Tampoko came to the Commandant about eight or ten days before my return and reported that the Postholder and assistant at Arinda had not run away, nor been killed, but that the tribe of the Manoas, here called Magnauws, had been making a raid through the country and had come to the Post and carried off both the Postholder and the assistant; that they had taken all the goods and destroyed the buildings. This tribe is an ally of the Portuguese of Brazil. Tampoko is coming down again in a fortnight's time, when I shall send him up the Essequibo with a party of Caribs to obtain full information.

. . . . . .

There is a rumour here that the Post in Cuyuni has again been raided. I do not know whether it is true, because I have as yet had no direct tidings from above. The old negro Abarina, who always looks after the turtle business up in Cuyuni, and who is well acquainted with all the roads there, went up stream yesterday to get information.

There will be a fine heap of work for the Court to get through at its meeting of October 5. I shall urge that serious measures be taken against the slave desertions. I await with impatience the result of Their High Mightiness's efforts and the advice of the Presidial Chamber in this matter; if no efficacious remedies are instituted the Colony is ruined and I have grave fears for Your Honours' plantation "Aechterkerke."

Had I only a good garrison of Germans or even of natives[1], say at least a hundred men for the two rivers, detachments could be posted here or there and small vessels could cruise about, but with such cattle (forgive me the expression, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs) what can be done? If matters proceed in this way the Commandant and a sergeant will soon be the only ones left.

The subjoined extracts are from a despatch of thirteen pages, written in Storm's smallest hand (over a thousand words to each folio page), giving, in addition to the usual circumstantial report on the Colony, an account of various matters discussed in the Courts of Policy and Justice; the concluding portion may serve not only as an example of the character of the Councillors but as a proof of the treatment and opposition the Director-General had to contend with even in the last years of his administration; en passant, it throws a side-light upon his relations with Spoors, then only acting as Councillor.

P.R.O. 474/1

December 9, 1767.

(Extracts)

The Assistant of Post Arinda has at last come down. The creole Tampoko, whom I had sent up, met him and returned.

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[1] From a letter written by the Directors in *1762* (see p. 404) it will be seen that even in Zeeland it was considered nothing unusual to arm the natives for the Colony's defence; Storm was constantly doing so.

Matters up there are not so bad as the Indians had reported; the Manoas have not been in those parts, and indeed I could hardly believe it, because it seemed to me improbable that they would have come such a long distance without being discovered by the Caribs, their inveterate enemies, and the more so since, after the raid upon Cuyuni by the Spaniards, Essequibo swarms with Caribs, who have all flocked there after having asked me for permission to do so.

But the Postholder having had some unpleasantness with the Acuways, whom he had treated very unjustly, had left the Post from fear of that tribe, and had taken refuge with the Caribs. It was this that caused the rumour; some passing Indians, finding no one at the Post, and not knowing what had become of the Postholder, had given out their conjectures as the truth.

The Postholder having failed to do his duty in everything and his conduct being perfectly inexcusable, I have dismissed him, and having at last found a man, one Gerrit Jansse, who brought in the slaves belonging to Van der Eyck, and, according to the unanimous testimony of all citizens, is an honest, upright and sober fellow, I have appointed him to be Postholder. He is to go up stream next week with the assistant and is to send down the dismissed Postholder, who has not dared to come down the river. I hope the Post will now be well looked after.

As I could not leave the Post at Maroco without some defence I have provisionally and *ad interim* sent one Diderik Neelis there until I could get a good Postholder.

It is unfortunate that no competent person can be found here for places of such an importance to the Colony; they are nearly all men whose drinking habits would make them unfit for such a post.

The one in Cuyuni is no better than the rest because he is asking to be placed elsewhere, saying that he cannot live

there because the place is unhealthy. This is only a pretext, because he looks very well indeed, and there must be something else behind it which I have not yet been able to find out; but it is a hard and fast rule in this Colony that when any one has an honest and competent servant all kinds of deceit are practised to seduce him and entice him away, a thing that has happened in the Honourable Company's service more than once.

. . . . . .

I have received a letter from a missionary priest in Orinoco, a translation of which I have the honour to send YY. HH.[1] Is it not astonishing that such a man who knows very well how we are treated with respect to our runaway slaves, still dares to ask that the Indians who have run away from his Mission should be sent back to him, the same being free people? YY. HH. can see from this how free they hold the Indians who live under them, and who are treated much worse than their slaves. The bearer has gone to Martinique and will be back in February, when I hope to answer the letter in a fitting manner.

. . . . . .

[2]And since according to the evidence of the negroes the village is as close to Essequibo as to Demerary Your Honours' creole Tampoko will march upon the same from the direction of Essequibo with a few Indians in order to be able to attack it from two sides.

If the expedition were undertaken by well-disciplined soldiers I should feel more certain of its success (but what is to be expected of a party of unwilling citizens with whom the captains themselves fear little can be done, and who can only be got to obey with a great deal of diffi-

[1] Not reproduced.

[2] The matter here referred to is amply elucidated by Storm's letter to his son, the Commander of Demerara, dated *December 13* (see pp. 561–563).

culty?); but since that is impossible we must use wh
means we have, and not being able to do as much as w
might wish must be satisfied with doing what we can.

The case of Somersall's negroes or slaves then came u
and the evidence was taken of each of the purchasers, nearly
all of whom declared they had bought them of John Ber
mingham and at his house, this being stoutly denied b
Bermingham, even upon oath. The number of these slave
smuggled in amounts to forty, and since all the purchaser
with the exception of three, maintain that they bough
them of J. Bermingham and at his house and had paid hi
for them, since, moreover, Councillor Changuion declare
he had seen the slaves in the boiling-house there and ha
even bid for some of them, the matter seemed clear a
irrefutable.

The accused and witnesses having retired Mr Spoor
in the first place said that this having occurred seve
months ago the action of the Fiscal was null and vo
whereupon I enquired in reply whether the Fiscal co
institute an action before being aware of the crime
declared upon my word of honour that neither I n
Commander had known, either directly or indirectly
sale of a single slave until the last ordinary meetin
a vague report of the recovery of twelve runaways
to an investigation.

Mr Spoors, seeing that this was not contradicte
other councillors, thereupon said that he would first
to see with his own eyes Your Honours' orders
respecting the importation of slaves, whereupon I

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[1] i.e. before a Court meeting held *November 25, 1767*.

[2] It should be borne in mind that Spoors, having a plantat
his own, would probably be interested in smuggled slaves (at l
far as their market price was concerned) whilst Bermingha
of the Englishmen against whose tax-evading propensiti
often declaimed.

at the proclamations concerning the matter had been
ally copied from Your Honours' despatches and were
ly in accord therewith. Mr Spoors thereupon said
id not believe it, and that he must see it—"See it
he repeated.

l me, Your Honours, to express how pained
by this direct insult put upon me in the full
t my honour and character, a suggestion
and capable of foisting upon the Court
ders from Your Honours! I remained silent
ne, and having considered my physical condition,
hich is so weak that I was scarcely able to attend the
eeting, that my administration was moreover near its
d, that unseemly disputes and wrangles, wherein one
ord ever leads to another, would only harm the common
eal, I restrained my feelings and only said "Very well,
Mr Spoors, you shall see." Thereupon I rose to get Your
onours' despatch of June 19, 1766, and returning, read
Your Honours' commands distinctly and then showing
Spoors the signature asked him whether he desired
ing more. Whereupon he said, "No, it is plain and
us what we have to do—the matter allows of no further
ion." The junior councillor then asking me what
e I demanded I replied, "I demand confiscation of
es for the benefit of the Honble. West India Co.,
prejudice to the purchasers' claims upon J. Ber-
m if he have deceived them (as indeed some of
e did), and as Fiscal I demand the value of the
as a penalty for violation of the law." Thereupon
and left the Court, ordering the Commander and
nandant to do likewise[1].

nvited to return half an hour later I was intensely

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cting as Fiscal for the Colony, would have no voice in

surprised to hear Mr Spoors, who had presided, say that the Court, in view of the lapse of time since the occurrence, had agreed to excuse the purchaser for this occasion and to condemn J. Bermingham to pay a fine of a thousand guilders, hoping that in future a strict watch would be kept upon smuggling either slaves or sugar. Upon this I laughingly asked whether the last speaker was himself able or could suggest any means to prevent it in Essequibo, whereupon he replied, "No, it is impossible." "As far as Demerara is concerned," I said, "I will answer for the slave smuggling there in future; there is now a battery of three six-pounders at the lighthouse and orders have been given that incoming barques must be forced to come to anchor there under pain of being sent to the bottom; if upon search they are found to carry slaves a guard is to be put on board and they are to be taken to Borssele Island." I had nothing, I added, to say to the judgment, but would have the honour to report to YY. HH. Whereupon the Court adjourned.

P.R.O. 474/52

December 13, 1767[1].

My dear Son,

How fortunate it is for de Scharden and his companions, that the two negroes did not know or had forgotten the way; we see now, all the more because it is over, the madness of his enterprise. Tampoko has come down with some Caribs and has brought me a very exact and circumstantial account. As I had expected, it is only too true

[1] The above letter was addressed to J. C. van den Heuvel, Commander of Demerara, Storm's son-in-law.

and certain that they are rebels from Berbice; the village surrounded by palisades, lies some distance inland behind the plantation of the Widow Stock; this is somewhere about the neighbourhood pointed out by the negroes. They are over a hundred strong, and crossed on a raft from the shore of Berbice up to Demerary. It took them a day before they were all over; they had ten casks of powder with them. Their cassava is already fairly high, and up to the present they have obtained their bread from the Acuways up in Demerary, and have already had a skirmish with some Caribs and carried off an Aruwak woman, who has again escaped.

The Caribs have informed me that they were ready to take up arms as soon as they should receive orders to attack them, but as they did not feel very safe about it, they ask for about six canoes to transport themselves with their bread; these I shall try to obtain as speedily as possible and send them up. They informed me that it is highly necessary that the road of retreat up in Demerary should be cut off, which is also my opinion, wherefore I must request you to call the burgher officers together and to invite the Councillors Changuion and van der Lot to meet the same in order to weigh this matter well, and to arrive at some fitting resolution, and lay down regulations for investing the upper portion of Demerary.

I am of opinion, *salvo meliori*, that the citizens ought not to attack them; this should be left to the Caribs. If the enemy retires or flees they must not be spared, but certainly attacked, and therefore good outposts should be placed at certain distances to give warning according to signs agreed upon whenever they perceive anything.

If I can get the canoes together, Tampoko shall proceed up the river on Monday or Tuesday morning to collect the Caribs who are ready, and proceed to the attack with them.

Let the Councillors well consider this dangerous matter:

there must be no delay in this, for the possession of the two rivers depends upon it.

I remain,

Your affectionate father,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

The utmost secrecy is necessary.

P.S.—I shall inform you of the day on which the Caribs will proceed to the attack. I have already six canoes: Tampoko is now going up the river to fetch some men to take the canoes up and to bring word to the Caribs to get themselves ready.

P.R.O. 474/59

February 9, 1768.

(Extracts)

After referring at some length to the chaotic state of the Company's accounts which, since the death of Mr Rousselet, the acting Secretary, he has been attempting to bring into order and to keep himself Storm says:

Now in my old age and soon, as I flatter myself, to be discharged from Your Honours' service, I am Director-General, Secretary, Bookkeeper, Salesmaster, in a word—everything. This does not worry me, Your Honours, so ong as it pleases the Almighty to grant me health and strength, and if only I can have the good fortune to gain Your Honours' approval. But I doubt not YY. HH. will be convinced that it is a very heavy task for me.

. . . . . .

The creole Tampoko, having come down the river to fetch the boats, brought the principal Owl of Massaruni with him, the same who led the Indians in the expedition to Berbice which succeeded so well[1]; I thought he was

[1] This chief is again mentioned on p. 598.

dead a long time ago. He told me that having gone into everything carefully he was of opinion that it would be better that they should go to Demerary and make the attack from there, because in going from here they would have to walk for a few hours up to their knees in water before they came to the negro houses, and that for this reason he had sent word to his tribe in Upper Essequibo to come down and keep watch upon that river in case the negroes should try to escape that way. I having approved of this on account of the reasons given, he departed with the canoes and will be here on the appointed day. I have informed the Commander of this, and have asked him to warn the Owl Conde to hold himself in readiness with his subject Warouws[1] to aid the Caribs.

. . . . .

It is true, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, that I took the liberty of informing YY. HH. that I was about to set out for Demerara[2] with the intention of awaiting my successor there and would meanwhile entrust Mr Spoors with the command in Essequibo; such however was to be with the proviso that I was to be informed of anything of importance that took place and that my orders concerning such events were to be awaited.

I could not possibly imagine that "De Sarah" would have such a terrible voyage and was hoping to receive my discharge by "De Laurens en Maria," in which case my stay in Demerara would not have exceeded the usual time determined by YY. HH.

The Lord be praised, I am not yet so bereft of my senses as to imagine that it was permissible for me to divest myself *propria authoritate* of the responsible charge entrusted to me and to lay it down *de but en blanc*. I am well aware that such conduct would have been inexcusable and

[1] See p. 343. [2] See despatch *21 April, 1767*, pp. 543, 544.

not to be justified upon any grounds whatsoever; moreover, it is an established custom here for such Company's servants as desire their discharge to give a year's notice thereof so that others may be found in that time to take their place. If this be the case with minor officials how much more so with a chief. I am even surprised that YY. HH. could for a moment have thought such a thing of me[1].

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[1] Storm was of course ignorant of the fact that Spoors, the former Secretary and still a Councillor, had, under date of *June 16, 1767*, written home as follows:—

"On *May 12* the Director-General set out from this river for Demerara, after having charged me, both verbally and in writing, with the command of Essequibo, His Excellency adding that it was his intention to remain in the aforesaid river until the arrival of his successor, he having definitely laid down his office and placed his resignation in the hands of His Serene Highness, and that he was resolved, in the event of his successor not arriving soon, to return home direct by the first ship." (P.R.O. 473/69.)

No one who has even casually perused a few of Storm's despatches —let alone those who have followed him throughout his career—can possibly believe that his sense of duty would allow him, as he himself says (p. 566), "to leave the Colony *à l'abandon* and to let things drift into chaos." Nevertheless, the matter needs some elucidation. Already in *1755* an application by Storm for leave to visit Europe solely in the Company's interests (see p. 339) had been refused and early in *1765* we find a similar refusal recorded (see p. 482); permission was at length tardily granted in *1766* (see p. 523) when Storm's state of health made him despair of being able to profit by it. Recovering, however, a few weeks later, he was preparing for his voyage when he received peremptory orders to stop where he was (see p. 591). Exceedingly chagrined hereat Storm early in *May* placed the command of Essequibo in Spoors' charge (see Spoors' own words *ut supra*), as he had often been wont to do, and set out for Demerara with the announced intention of awaiting there his discharge (see p. 544), which he confidently expected to receive at any moment in reply to his oft-repeated and most insistent demands. His discharge did not come and he returned to his duties (p. 566) which Spoors was unwilling longer to undertake (*ib.*).

As faithful recorders of Storm's life we must admit that his confession to Bentinck—"j'ay été sur le point plus d'une fois de mettre bas mes emplois et de partir pour l'Europe" (p. 591)—taken in conjunction with Spoors' statement ("that he was resolved, in the event of his successor not arriving soon to return home direct by

Seeing then my expectations disappointed upon the arrival of Capt. Different, by whom, too, no news came of the "Sarah's" arrival, I tarried no longer but returned to Essequibo. There was no necessity to resume the command, for I had in no wise laid it down, but I hurried the more (although my stay in Demerara for some weeks longer was not only desirable, but in some measure necessary, since the investigation of certain dealings would have been of advantage to the Honourable Company) because Mr Spoors had, in reply to Commandant Bakker's request for certain orders, been good enough to say, "Let those give orders who are paid for doing so; I am out of the service and the deuce take me if I bother any more about it." Receiving this report at 6 o'clock in the evening I was on my way already at six the next morning, although otherwise I would have waited for the next spring tide, when the voyage is much easier because one need not then avoid the sandbanks and can keep close to the shore.

Since then, too, I have not been out of Essequibo, as YY. HH. have been able to see from all my letters written after the arrival of "De Laurens en Maria." All the vessels having, thank God, safely arrived in Middelburg I should certainly have had the honour of reporting verbally to YY. HH. and of presenting my thanks for the various benefits enjoyed, such having been my dearest wish and in truth necessary for many reasons. But, Your Honours, however great my desire was I could not possibly bring myself to leave the Colony *à l'abandon* and to let things drift into chaos; the death of Mr Rousselet, the lack of a proper substitute, the unwillingness of Mr Spoors to undertake

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the first ship")—would, standing as a single action, be open to the construction the Directors appear to have placed on Spoors' words alone, but we submit that the whole tenour of Storm's life proves it to have been not an intention but a *lapsus calami* due to his well justified exasperation.

Mr Rousselet's duties *ad interim* or even to take the command—all this rendered my departure if not impossible, at least unjustifiable.

The reasons for my resignation submitted both to His Serene Highness and to YY. HH. consist alone in my advanced age and the ailments with which it pleases the Almighty often to visit me. Those reasons exist, but the true reason that forcibly impelled me I have always kept to myself and will still do so for some days, having only the honour to assure YY. HH. that it in no wise, directly or indirectly, concerned YY. HH., whose treatment of me personally is worthy of all praise and calls for my deepest gratitude. The reasons I had at the departure of "De Sarah" are far from extinct but on the contrary increase in force daily and have now become of much greater import to me—an example whereof may be seen in the proceedings of the Court on November 25 last, an occurrence all too public (and for an honourable and respectable man all too unbearable) to be glossed over[1].

And the longer things go on the worse they get. If I write letters I receive no reply—only a verbal message that the person written to will come to me; meanwhile weeks pass and no one comes. I found the books in a terrible muddle and have had endless toil and trouble to get them into order. The office is in uttermost confusion—some protocols missing, some badly injured by wood-lice, deeds of all sorts mixed up in a heap, no register or notes of the mortgages (upon which I am now at work, as being of the first consequence) —in a word, perfect chaos.

This must, however, not be accounted to the late Mr Rousselet; he went on with it as he found it. I doubt not that YY. HH. will have received a copy of the office inventory made by Messrs van der Heyde and Bakker

[1] See pp. 559–561.

when Mr Rousselet succeeded Mr Spoors, if not, I will ask Mrs Rousselet for it. *Ex ungue leonem.*

. . . . . .

We very frequently see, as the proverb says, that even a worm will turn. It had always been my idea that to endure without retaliating was the surest way to disarm one's foes, but, Your Honours, patience, long tried, has its limits. My period of endurance is coming to its end, and, if further ill-treatment compels me to take up the pen and to make formal and *de facto* complaint to His Serene Highness and YY. HH., I hope, if life and health be spared me, to do so with all the necessary details, and to repeat the same verbally.

I find, God be thanked, that the Merciful and Omnipotent One gives each one strength to bear his burden. I must now do what I have not done for twenty-nine years, that is, sit writing in my office from seven till twelve in the morning and from three to six in the afternoon; and although unused to it, I do it with pleasure and without fatigue. Never to put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day is a lesson I learnt from my worthy grandfather in my eighth year, the careful practice of which now stands me in good stead and gives me much ease. If one goes regularly about one's work, dealing sparely with drink and not permitting that pleasant seductive Madeira wine to become one's master, a good deal more can be done than one would think.

"Time enough, time enough!" is the common cry of the creoles and natives here, and thereby many a one has been brought to confusion.

. . . . . .

I am not at all surprised that Mr Spoors is opposed to the introduction of the acreage dues; self-interest always comes to the top with most people. Should he desire to keep all his land (which he still maintains he has the right

to do notwithstanding Your Honours' formal decision) he would have to pay a pretty considerable sum in acreage dues or give up a deal of the land—and neither alternative pleases him. Many colonists are against the tax, though quite as many are for it, but

Turba per extremas semper bachata vagatur
Et medias nescit carpere tuta vias[1].

And,

Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus:
Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno[2].

. . . . .

In the same despatch in which the Commander informs me of the arrival of the ship "De Vliegende Visch" I find these words:—"There are twelve soldiers on board who are again good recruits for Orinoco, because they are nearly all French[3]." Mr Lonk, who came over as a passenger, has assured me that they are all French, and that with the exception of one or two they are all Roman Catholics. Can it be possible that YY. HH. are so deceived by the crimps? I shall have them closely examined, but as I have received no muster-roll I do not know how they are described.

. . . . . .

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[1] We have been unable to trace this quotation; Professor Bensly does not think it is from any classical author.

[2] Persius, v. 52.

[3] The Commander of Demerara, in a despatch to the Zeeland Directors dated *February 18, 1768*, writes:—

"I was very pleased, YY. HH., on reporting the arrival of the twelve men to the Director-General to hear from him that, according to Your Honours' letter, they were all Protestants and that there was not a Frenchman, Fleming, Portuguese, or Spaniard amongst them. But when I mustered them I found to my great surprise that out of these twelve men there were only three who were not French, these being the corporal, who comes from Utrecht, and has served in the State troops for some years, and a German, a native of Zweibrucken, and a French deserter. The others are all Frenchmen and deserters, so that I conclude that YY. HH. have been scandalously deceived by the recruiting agents, who are infamous scoundrels."

In addition to this all the Indians have declared that they will have no French at the Posts, a troop of more than 100 Warouwans, all well armed, having already arrived at the Post Maroco saying that they came to see whether there was a Frenchman there, and intending to kill him if it were so.

Wherefore also Pierre Martin has come down the river from Cuyuni, the Indians flatly refusing to come and live anywhere near the Post so long as he is there. They will have a Dutchman, they say.

The soldiers who came in "De Spoor" have arrived; they are again nearly all Frenchmen, but I will say no more—*oleum et operam perdidi* in this matter. I was engaged upon the Register when the letter-bag of "De Spoor" was brought in so that I have had to break off and put it away until the next ship goes—*ultra posse nemo tenetur.*

P.R.O. 474/82

April 9, 1768[1].

(Extracts)

In my last I had the honour of replying concerning the earnest request I made for my discharge and my letter to H. S. H. on the matter and I shall not dilate thereupon here except to say that I am still very impatiently longing for my release. Although, contrary to expectation, my constant infirmities, one of the reasons that then prompted me, have, the Lord be praised and thanked, much diminished,

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[1] The despatch, consisting of about 20,000 words, from which the above extracts are taken, was commenced, as the text shows, on *February 12* (see p. 571).

I have no reason to flatter myself that this will remain so long, and as I am hoping very much for rest I will not yet enter upon the further weighty reasons, which, far from diminishing, increase daily and really render the service bitter to me.

Were I to write circumstantially regarding these, this despatch would be as voluminous as Your Honours' very esteemed of August 24, the reply to which I am beginning to-day February 12 (quite early enough); time, too, would not allow me to do so without neglecting my own affairs and those of the Company and Colony, the latter occupying so much thereof that I have really need of three bodies.

I am very sorry that I expressed myself ill in my letter or was misunderstood by YY. HH. It was in no wise my intention to give up the direction of affairs before the arrival of my successor or to remain in Demerara if his coming was delayed longer than I expected or wished; this, too, YY. HH. will have fully perceived from my later letters, but I have already answered this in my last.

Tela prævisa minus nocent[1]. One can guard against an open enemy, but it is not so easy to withstand a concealed one who under the mask of noble-hearted friendship seeks to injure, to calumniate and to thwart us in every way. Ungrateful, envious and mean spirits, who grudge their fellows even a crust of bread and secretly attack their honour are only too frequently met with in this world. The English dramatist Shakespear says with good reason:

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[1] This is another quotation which we have been unable to trace. Professor Bensly points out that in John of Salisbury's *Epistolae* (Ep. cxii. p. 203 in the *1611* edit.) occurs the line

Jacula quoque minus laedunt, quae praevidentur

which is extraordinarily similar; also that the line

Nam levius laedit, quidquid praevidimus ante,

expressing the same sentiment, is found in Dionysius Cato's *Disticha de moribus* (Bk. II. xxiv. p. 188 in Arntzenius' ed., Amsterdam, *1754*).

"Despoil my purse, I heed it not—tis trash:
Tis mine, tis yours, tis anybody's;
But rob me of my good name, I'm poor indeed[1]."

. . . . . .

When I was at the Court in 1751 I took the liberty to say to Mr van Wassenaer, Baillie of the Hague, "To have the West Indian sense one must have been in the West Indies," and this may well pass for an axiom, for it is an absolute impossibility for a European to form a just idea of these regions and one in accordance with the actual state of affairs. No reading, no narratives suffice; experience is here certainly the best and safest instructress.

Moreover, this Colony resembling Noah's Ark, in which were clean and unclean beasts, by its mixture of all tongues, races and nationalities, patience and forbearance, so far as circumstances permit, are the best qualities to cultivate.

The proverb says, "Patience is a good herb, but it does not grow in every man's garden[2]." In Europe it absolutely refused to grow in my garden, but in this Colony I was compelled to cultivate it and to tend it with great care. This, too, was most necessary at the beginning of my service, and I was more than once earnestly recommended by Your Honours' Assembly to exercise all possible indulgence. But *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*[3].

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[1] Who steals my purse, steals trash:
'Tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands,
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that, which not enriches him
And makes me poor indeed.
Othello, Act III. Sc. iii.

Shakespeare's exact words (as they appear in the *1623* edition) have been reproduced here in order to show that not only was Storm trusting to his memory but that he was able in so doing to put English together pretty fairly.

[2] *Patientie is een goed kruyd, maer het wast in alle mans hove niet.*

[3] *Sic.* Storm used the usually accepted order of the words. Matthias

Things are no longer what they were. In those days I could by kind words and pithy reasons get the burghers to do anything; now neither good nor bad words, and not even the most urgent commands of the Court, are of the least avail.

. . . . . .

To-morrow is the day appointed by the Caribs for the attack[1]. God knows how it will end if things go in Demerary as the Commander has reason to fear. There is no difficulty about the Caribs; they will do their duty well; but if the fugitives are not stopped at Demerary and can get over the river this matter may have results that can last for years. It is a sad thing that there are so many people who will not understand reason—will not, I say, because it is impossible to believe that they do not grasp the danger and the results of their unwillingness.

. . . . . .

I fully agree with YY. HH. that if the Company's revenues are not alone to equal but to exceed the expenditure already and still to be incurred many new measures will have to be framed. But permit me, YY. HH., once more to say that to have the West Indian sense one must have been for a time in the West Indies. I trust that no wrong measures will be passed or false economy regarded, which would make matters much worse than they are now.

Take it not amiss, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, that an old servant who has now served YY. HH. over thirty years, who flatters himself to have looked after the best interests of his lords and masters and of the Colony faithfully and honestly, whose greatest and latest pleasure in life would be to see the latter in a flourishing condition,

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Borbonius, *Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum* (Frankfort, *1612*) vol. i. p. 685, attributes this line to Lothair I, Emperor of Germany, though in the following form :—

Omnia mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.

[1] See p. 564.

and who, burdened beyond his strength with matters that his zeal and affection for the Company do not permit him to neglect, is now through old age and worries soon about to leave that service,—take it not amiss if he makes bold to speak openly and as his heart dictates. I detest all flattery and feigning and am also convinced of Your Honours' righteousness and justice, of which I have had so many proofs, wherefore I have no fear YY. HH. will take it in ill part and shall therefore continue to write in that spirit.

. . . . . .

March 28.—I am again sending an express to-day to the Commander to inform him that Gerrit Jansse, the Postholder of Arinda, had come down stream and reported to me that he had spoken to the body of Caribs up by the fall; that the Owl[1] had charged him to tell me that everything there had been well searched but that nothing had been found; that they had imprisoned the Aruwak who had brought them there and had sent him off, together with Tampoko, a few Aruwaks, and some of their own men, to catch a negro from Berbice who was living in those parts; that they would closely examine him and attack anything he pointed out, but that if there were nothing, he would come to me with the negro and the Aruwak.

. . . . . .

The Postholder of Arinda has reported to me that all is well up there, and that the tribes are at perfect peace with each other.

Such is not the case with the Acuways up in Demerary called Wapessansis[2]; these have killed three Caribs on the coast of Berbice, and the latter will not rest until they have

[1] The designation for a native chief.

[2] There is no warrant for regarding the Wapisanas as a connection or branch of the Akawois; Storm however had but little knowledge of the former until *1769* (see p. 617).

had their revenge. The former tribe is thus in continual fear of being unexpectedly attacked by the Caribs, which is certain to happen even if it should be after the lapse of a year. I have written the Commander earnestly to warn all the citizens and his soldiers that when this occurs they are not to interfere, directly or indirectly, except to make peace if possible, and especially are they to take care not to provide either party with arms or otherwise to assist them, since such action might bring the other party upon us and have fatal results, especially for those colonists who live up the river in isolated places, and especially since they now see for themselves what help they would get from their neighbours in case of need.

. . . . . .

Tampoko came down the river yesterday evening with his body of Caribs. When the canoes arrived we thought there were some negroes in them, because some of the Caribs had entirely covered their head and face with their salempouris. This custom was quite unknown to me. When they came on shore I asked Tampoko what it meant, and he told me that these were men who had killed negroes; this is their custom, and they must go like that for a month. After which I got the two Owls to give me a full account of the expedition. They said that on the day when they had spoken to the Postholder of Arinda and given him a message for me they had not yet been able to discover anything; that on the same day they had climbed Mount Arisari[1] to be able to look around. On reaching the top they immediately discovered the negro houses and plantations. Being very pleased with this, they commenced their march on the morning of the next day; that close to the place they first

[1] Mt Arissari will be found marked on the Map in latitude 5° 35′, therefore much below the site of Post Arinda at this date, but, as Storm explains on the previous page, the Postholder was on his way down to the Fort.

came to the house of a free creole from Berbice named Peter, who had served in Demerary for about three years as a carpenter, and who was now living alone. No one mistrusted him, and he was at my house only about six weeks ago.

Tampoko was extremely surprised at finding him at home, because he had spoken to him down here before starting, and had asked him whether he had not heard anything of the negroes, whereupon he had answered, "Not the least," and that scoundrel lived only a rifle-shot from them, and asked Tampoko where he was going. The latter not trusting him said, "I am going to look for the negroes." "It is labour in vain," said the other, "there are none."

Tampoko, being very suspicious concerning his speedy journey home, asked him, "How do you come here before me when I made such haste? Are there no negroes about here?" "No, not one," said he. "What is this talking then that I hear on the other side of the creek?" asked Tampoko. "I don't know," said Peter, "but there are no negroes here."

Meanwhile Tampoko had sent out two Carib scouts, who were immediately attacked by the negroes and one of them severely wounded.

Upon hearing their shouts for help the other Caribs rushed to their assistance, two remaining with Tampoko, to whom the latter said, "Capture this creole and bind him," and thereupon went to the main body.

The creole, hearing this, tried to escape, but the two Caribs sent two poisoned arrows into his back, and followed Tampoko. On their coming up he asked them whether they had caught or killed the creole. They said, "No, but we have sent two arrows into his body." Tampoko said, "He must be killed or taken prisoner," whereupon one of the two went back and finding him dragging himself along shot

another arrow at him and coming back to Tampoko said, "Now he has enough, he will not go much farther."

The Caribs were not at work very long, having killed seven men, one woman and one girl—three men and a few women and children, whom they could not pursue, having escaped. They have brought the seven right hands to me, and I am just now occupied in paying them[1].

They have assured me that the Acuways of Essequibo have promised them to look after the rest and deliver them up. With the permission of the Caribs they have taken possession of the negro bread plantations, which they will entirely lay waste; the houses are already razed to the ground, and all the weapons of the negroes have been brought to me.

The Lord be praised that the matter turned out so successfully. What might not the results have been for this Colony, especially when they had such a scoundrel with them who had free access to all the plantations both here and in Demerary, and who was not mistrusted in the least, he having only recently shown me a certificate from Calleway and Bikkel that he had worked on their plantation for about a year and always behaved honestly and loyally.

"What will the busy-bodies in Demerary say now?" I wrote to the Commander to-day. Last week de Scharde said in several places "a creole like that is believed before me who know everything and have examined everything, and the burghers are obliged to endure all kinds of fatigues and hardships on his account, and I will wager that it is all for nothing." The Commander and myself are obliged to

[1] The interest of this narrative lies in the fact that Tampoco, who subsequently hanged himself, was said to have invented it and to have imposed upon Storm; there is however ground for doubting that assertion. Storm himself certainly believed in the creole even after his suicide. See pp. 583 and 585.

hear such speeches daily. It is our turn to speak now, but what is the use of it with such people, who think that they are excused when they say, " I should not have thought it," or, " I cannot believe it."

May I not justly say that activity, attentiveness, and patience are absolutely necessary here now ?

Time does not permit me to write so circumstantially concerning all this as the importance of the matters perhaps demand. If the Almighty grant me life and health, I hope, when discharged from my office and more at peace, to use the pen somewhat more freely, it being however my intention not to engage in any business matters and to write only to YY. HH., if so desired, concerning the above and Colony affairs. Nor shall I undertake any commissions or procurations of any sort, hoping then to be able to say with the Roman lyric poet Horace (Lib. 2 Ode 10):

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
Litus iniquum.
Auream quisque mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.
Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
Fulmina[1] *montes.*

[1] Some editions have *fulgura*; of all Storm's longer quotations, this is most free from slips.

P.R.O. 474/102

Demerara, June 1, 1768.

(Extracts)

This pleasure and satisfaction I have, however, in all my worries—that my efforts on behalf of Demerara have not been fruitless and that that river now not only far surpasses Essequibo but is apparently about to become, under the Lord's blessing, and through the great and daily increasing afflux thither, a mighty and flourishing colony; to secure this, however, the scum will have to be removed and the obstacles cleared away, which labour I will leave to my successor. God grant that he may have the necessary knowledge and firmness for his task; I look for his coming with great longing.

. . . . . .

The principal fishery, YY. HH., has always been in the mouth and between the islands of Orinoco, near the Warouws, to which we send salting markott[1] twice every year. This has never been prevented until recently, to the inexpressible injury of the Company's plantations and Colony, because there now being a want of that fish, and the slaves being obliged to have their rations, salt cod has continually to be bought, which even in one year runs pretty high, and sometimes brings me into difficulties with the payment. Only this week I paid over 300 guilders to Captain Andrew; the twelve casks of meat which each plantation gets annually are of little use, and 1000 lbs. of fish is soon gone.

The other fishery is carried on in the two dry seasons on the sea-coast for querman[2]; it is very uncertain, the seasons

[1] Schomburgk (*Description of British Guiana*, 1840, p. 39) mentions the "morocoto," which may be an alternative spelling.

[2] Hilhouse, *Indian Notices* (p. 35), says that the Warouw Indians "barbacot and salt great quantities of the querryman (*genus mugil*) with which they traffic on the coast, and sometimes as far as town."

having been unreliable since 1763. We are now at the height of the dry season, and there is not a single querman on the coast. This fishery moreover costs immeasurably more than the others, the Aruwaks who are engaged in it requiring four times as much pay, &c.

. . . . .

The Posts are now in proper order; those at Maroco and Cuyuni ought to be strengthened; but Roman Catholic soldiers ought not to be sent there, and we have, so to say, no others. I should otherwise certainly have sent reinforcements to Moruka, because our rascally deserters have arrived in Barima with a few Spaniards and have robbed the widow la Riviere of all her slaves and property. This did not matter very much, because I had strictly forbidden Jan la Riviere to settle between Essequibo and Orinoco, and for greater security I had this inserted in his pass; he was also forbidden by the Court to settle in Barima. The deserters also threatened to come and make a raid upon the Post of Moruka, but having offered a few insults to the Caribs, the latter, being rather short-tempered, killed Hendrik Rodemeyer and the drummer Jacobus Van Maelen, and came to bring me information of what they had done. When I told them that they had acted wrongly they said that the killed men were only Touarimbos, that is to say, runaways who are no great loss, and who are only mischievous. Whereupon I answered, "That is true as far as regards their being no great loss, but your people ought to have taken them alive, and brought them here, then you would have received good payment." Whereupon they replied, "Very well, we shall try to get the other two." I therefore do not think that the Post is in any danger now, because I do not believe that the Spaniards would dare to join them openly, and the Postholder has abundance of scouts and is on his guard.

It is of the utmost necessity that we should have

Protestant soldiers. I am certain that YY. HH. are convinced of the necessity of this, but how little hope there is of getting them I see from the last shipment which, with the exception of about four, consisted of none but Catholics, and from Your Honours' letter I can only conclude that YY. HH. have been greatly deceived[1].

This ties my hands completely, and nothing can be done at the Posts, which are daily exposed to pillage; the Postholder cannot absent himself for a few days, let alone for a few weeks, as he would have to do to make any discoveries. We have now a good Postholder at Arinda who has done more in six months than the others did in six years, but reinforcements is his daily cry in order to be able to go farther, it being impossible to leave the Post alone among those savage tribes without having all his bread and merchandise stolen, and it is inadvisable for any one to go inland unless there are at least two of them, in case of illness, etc.

The garrison of the two rivers ought to consist of at least 100 men (as it does in Berbice), but if they are to be Catholics it would be better to remain as we are, and even less, since the proximity of the Spaniards is a standing danger of desertion, and if the opportunity were embraced by many at once it would have fatal results for some plantations. This was very much feared when those seven deserted together, and we do not dare to send any one after them, not only on account of the smallness of our numbers, but because it is feared that those who are sent would join

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[1] The Directors' reply, dated *Nov. 28, 1768*, ran :—

"We agree with you in deeming an adequate garrisoning of the various Posts of the Colony to be of the highest importance, but, as for the sending of Protestant or Lutheran soldiers, we have again to refer to our preceding letter. Up to the present we have not been able to obtain any Protestant soldiers, nor even any Germans, although we have given abundant orders to all lodging-house keepers."

the runaways, especially if they have a good boat and provisions.

. . . . .

The description of our neighbouring Spanish Governors which I had the honour to send YY. HH.[1], is taken from life and by no means exaggerated. YY. HH. may well say, "May God preserve our colonists from such!" because such government would soon result in total ruin.

But, YY. HH., that would not be so easy with free-born Netherlanders or Englishmen as with people born under a despotic rule and accustomed to slavery, since the colonists all coming from Guayana and Trinidad are slaves in the narrowest sense of the word. Such Governors would not be tolerated long, and the Assemblies of Their High Mightinesses and of YY. HH. would soon re-echo with perfectly justifiable complaints.

What have those people but their cattle, for which Providence has given them excellent pastures? They have nothing else in the world, and are actually in want of bread. It might be urged that this is due to their sloth. This is true in a sense, but who would willingly work for another? If we took the bread from the gardens of our slaves, do YY. HH. think they would work for love of the thing on their free Saturdays? By no means.

I should be very grieved if Mr Clarke were to leave the Colony; the reasons why he called in some of his outstanding monies are now known to me and are very good ones. Mr Clarke in Demerara and W. Croydon in Essequibo are honest, upright men, of much profit and advantage to the Colony, the welfare of which they have at heart; but were we quit of all the other English and had Dutch or Germans instead the loss would not be great, but on the

[1] See p. 553.

contrary, the Colony's progress and welfare would be much furthered and smuggling put an end to.

. . . . .

As soon as the Court meeting of June 4 is over I intend, if the Lord grant me health, to proceed to the three plantations in order to have a careful inventory made, but I can rely so little upon my condition, which is very changeable. Old age brings many infirmities and that is the common course of nature. Were it permissible to compare the very humble with the very great I could almost say with the Emperor Vespasian *Decet imperatorem stantem mori*, for I fear it will be my fate, if I am not soon released, to succumb under the weight of my work.

. . . . .

We are at present in very precarious circumstances, the Acuways and Caribs being now in open war, which will probably bring about a great massacre shortly.

There was a report here that Tampoko and the Caribs had not killed negroes but Indians, and that the hands brought down were the hands of Indians[1]. If such were found to be true I have never seen a rascally trick executed more carefully and clothed with more feasible circumstances, and I think that Satan himself might be deceived in this way.

I have requested Mr van der Heyde, who lives right amongst the Caribs, to be good enough carefully to examine the matter; he has already had the Owls at his place, who stoutly and emphatically deny this accusation. (I can scarcely believe it myself.) He will continue his investigations and send me down Tampoko as soon as he comes home.

. . . . .

The Postholder of the Corentin[2] has provided the Caribs

[1] See pp. 575–577 and 585.

[2] The west bank of the Corentin (being the bank nearest Demerara and Essequibo) was regarded (*see* Laws of British Guiana, *1905*) as

with blunderbusses. What does this mean, YY. HH., when an old law still in force, and one that I have always insisted upon being observed, forbids the sale of arms to any Indians?...I believe that too strong a self-interest is at the bottom of the Postholder's unjustifiable conduct, for the Akawois being slaves in Surinam he hopes by that war to get hold of a good number of them and Heaven knows whether he did not himself incite the war. *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis auri sacra fames*[1]?

. . . . .

The drummer Jacobus van Maelen, who ran away with the Postholder of Moruka, and who was believed to have been killed by the Caribs (this fate having in reality befallen one of the other deserters) has returned, together with a negro belonging to Miss Persik, and alleges that he was coerced by the dire threats of the Postholder. He relates that all the French deserters from here, together with the Postholder, have left for Martinique in a French vessel, and that Streep is a carpenter and Philip Boucher a constable, in Guayana.

P.R.O. 474/125

June 6, 1768.

(Extract)

Things are now really becoming serious, YY. HH. Last night an express arrived from Berbice reporting that the Caribs above Berbice having been defeated by the Acuways, a body of 600 Caribs has passed the fort there, and together

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under the jurisdiction of Surinam until the year *1800*, when it was "declared and acknowledged henceforth to belong to the Government of the Colony of Berbice" (then under English rule) but with the express proviso that the post established on that bank should remain in the possession and under command of the Surinam government.

[1] Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 57.

with several other bodies had taken the road to Upper Demerary and Essequibo, so that now our Caribs of Essequibo and Massaruni will take up arms and the war will become universal. The Lord knows what the results will be; I do not expect much good from it.

P.R.O. 474/139

July 20, 1768.

(Extract)

The creole Tampoco, who was apprehended and placed in prison here by my orders on account of a report that he had had Arawaks killed instead of negroes and was to have been tried by the Court, hanged himself as soon as he heard that I had returned from Demerara; I have had him hanged by his legs on the gallows. The Caribs whom I had ordered to be here on that day did not come; probably they are also fighting against the Akawois. Nor did the Arawaks, Tampoco's accusers, come[1].

P.R.O. 474/180

September 15, 1768.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

A report which I received after the closing of my letters compels me to add these few lines. A Spanish privateer from Orinoco, cruising along our coast, made an attempt to capture Your Honours' salter before the River Waini

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[1] The incident which gave rise to Tampoco's arrest and suicide is fully set out on pp. 574–577 and 583. Already in his *June* despatch Storm expresses his doubt concerning the creole's guilt, the last sentence of the above extract being also very suggestive; he again refers to the matter in *February, 1769* (see p. 598) and remains as unconvinced as ever. Tampoco was certainly a strange and interesting character, and had been of much service to the Company; earlier exploits of his are narrated on pp. 488, 489, 496, 522, 537 and 563.

(indisputably the Company's territory) and fired very strongly upon him. The latter was cautious enough (not being able to escape otherwise) to run his boat high and dry upon the bank so that he could not be reached by the privateer who, having continued to fire upon him for some time, and seeing that he could do nothing, finally departed.

They are not content with most unreasonably keeping our runaway slaves and with hindering us from carrying on the fishery in Orinoco, which we have always been free to do, but they now wish to prevent us from salting along our own coasts, and will in this manner end by closing our river, and no boats will dare to go out any more. Is this proper behaviour on the part of our neighbours and allies?

Must we, YY. HH., regard all this quietly and endure all these insults and hostile acts? Must we see our Posts raided and ruined and our boats attacked upon our own coasts? What is to be the end of this? There is no redress to be got from the Court of Spain. Why not exercise the *jus talionis*?

The Caribs of Barima were here last week and complained that some of our deserters with a party of Spaniards were continually molesting them in Barima and robbing them of everything. I asked them whether they were not men and had no hands to defend themselves. They answered, "Indeed, they had," but that they did not know whether they might do so. I replied that they must indeed be careful to give the Spaniards not the slightest reason for complaint, but that if they were unjustifiably attacked they might stoutly defend themselves. This pleased them very much, because I had not yet been willing to grant them so much liberty.

We have discovered that at the same time that the corporal and three soldiers ran away from Demerary to Orinoco there was a plot formed here by a party of Frenchmen to take to their heels. We were warned just in time, whereupon the Commandant immediately had all the boats

secured as far as possible and sent warnings to "Duynenburg" and all the neighbours. The desertion was thus prevented, but it is only for a short time; they will watch their opportunity, and even if they went away before our eyes, in a manner of speaking, what could we do? To have them pursued would be going *ex Scilla in Charibdim*, for the pursuers would very probably join them, and the more so because they would be well armed and well furnished with provisions.

Therefore, YY. HH., be pleased not to take it amiss if as long as I have the honour to be in Your Honours' service (which I trust will be but a short time) I send back to Europe by the first ship all recruits who come here and turn out to be French. Necessity compels me to do this, and I would no longer be answerable to God or man for the danger into which the Colony would be brought by this. The colonists, especially those down in the river and on the sea-coast, are unceasingly complaining that they are continually compelled to be on their guard, and really they have great reason for doing so.

Having written this in great haste, I have the honour to be, with deep respect and esteem, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.R.O. 474/166

November 9, 1768.

(Extract)

The beginning of this letter will not be pleasant, because I am obliged to inform YY. HH. that in the night between the 5th and 6th of October four French soldiers ran away from the Fort here to Orinoco, as I had expected, and as

YY. HH. will have seen from my former letters. They have taken as a companion, and apparently as a leader, one Servaes Smith, whom Mr Massol had taken from the ship "Zeeberg" in place of another sailor after paying fifty guilders into the bargain; he had driven Smith from his house a few days before the desertion of the latter, for what reason I do not know.

The Commander of Demerary made a very good guess when he wrote to me on the arrival of the last transport, "There are again some good recruits for Orinoco." In this way they will not require any recruits from Europe, if they are so well provided by us.

This matter is really getting more dangerous for this Colony every day, because the rascals are employed upon the so-called coast-guards and privateers of which I wrote in my last letter, and it has been reported to us by Spaniards themselves that the aforesaid deserters openly threaten that they will not only make a raid upon the Post in Maroco, but that they will also pay a visit to a few of the lowest plantations. Certainly not to pay their respects to the owners, as their mode of life in Barima plainly proves.

The following letter, communicated (like that of March 21, 1751[1]) by the courtesy of Dr Robert Fruin, was probably addressed to the same person as the earlier document—Count William Bentinck[2]—a supposition which its tenour tends to prove. The corroboration it gives to various matters touched upon in Storm's more official despatches renders it highly interesting and it has been deemed best to reproduce it in the original French.

[1] See p. 277. [2] See p. 276.

Rio Essequibo le Decembre, 1768.

Monsieur,

La dernière lettre que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous écrire, a été du 27 Juin 1767, dont la Copie est allée par Suriname, elle a été pour prendre la liberté de recommander mon fils[1] en votre protection. Je n'ay pas osé m'ingérer de reitérer mes prières, craignant de vous ennuyer & d'abuser de votre patience.

La fatale dispute entre les Provinces d'Hollande & de Zeelande au sujet de notre colonie qui nous cause un dommage considérable, nos Directeurs ayant pour ainsi dire les mains liées & n'osant rien faire de conséquence, fait que tout restant icy *in statu quo*, tout va sans dessus dessous, chacun veut être maistre & il n'y a plus ny subordination ny obéissance parmi les habitants.

Cecy m'avoit nécessité au mois de Décembre 1766[2] d'écrire a son Altesse Serenissime & aux Directeurs pour demander avec instance ma dimission. N'osant pas réiterer mes prières à son Altesse Serenissime, je n'ay pas manqué par tous les vaisseaux partis depuis ce temps là & dans toutes mes lettres aux Directeurs de réitérer ma demande & d'insister tres sérieusement sur l'envoy d'un successeur.

Nous voila en Décembre 1768, ainsi deux années d'écoulées depuis ma demande, & il n'y a rien encore de fait a cet égard, ce qui me Chagrine extrèmement.

Je ne seray pas venu à cette résolution & n'aurois pas insisté si fortement, s'il y avoit moyen de continuer le service avec honneur, deux ou trois esprits turbulents se font

[1] His youngest son, Jeremias, born *Sept. 2, 1749*, and the only one that survived him. The last letter extant signed by Storm, dated *July 19, 1775*, is a request to the Directors of the West India Company to appoint this son salesmaster in Demerara. It is in the Rijksarchief at the Hague and is evidently not Storm's own composition.

[2] See pp. 524, 525.

une affaire d'animer tous les petits habitants et de les soulever; ils leur font accroire ce qu'ils veulent et se servent de la patte du chat pour tirer les chataignes du feu. Ils payent tous mes soins et mes veilles pour le bien et l'avancement de la colonie de la plus noire ingratitude.

En second lieu les emplois de secretaire, du venduemaistre, teneur de livres et receveur de tous les droits etant vacants depuis juin 1767 tout tombe sur mes épaules. Je dois exercer moy-même tout cela, sans compter les affaires du gouvernement. Chacun de ces emplois demande une personne entiere. Jugez, je vous prie, de l'accablement ou je me trouve, principalement étant d'une humeur que je ne puis rien voir de négligé qui soit de la moindre consequence.

Enfin la peine qu'il y a depuis cinq ou six années de contenter. Les lettres que je reçois et celle du Commandeur de Demerary sont remplies de louanges et de reproches, et les derniers sont quelque fois très sensibles pour des personnes qui se font un devoir de s'acquitter avec honneur de leurs emplois.

Je n'aurois jamais cru que l'animosité entre deux provinces d'une même république put aller si loin. Cette année un vaisseau de Rotterdam nommé l'Amphitrite apartenant à Mr A. Tulleken arriva à Demerary ayant des vivres et utensiles pour les plantages qui sont en correspondance avec ce monsieur. Le Commandeur en suivant ses ordres précis mit d'abord à bord une garde d'un corporal et deux soldats et fit défendre absolument au capitaine de ne rien charger ou décharger, et de partir dès qu'il auroit mis son vaisseau en ordre. Vous ne scauriez croire, Monsieur, les reproches vifs et terribles qu'il reçoit pour avoir permis à ce vaisseau de rester plus de trois ou quatre jours dans la rivière.

Plusieurs de cette nature ont obligé le Commandeur aussi bien que moy de demander sa démission.

Aussi si longtemps que les choses restoit en cet état et que la dispute n'étoit pas finie, je n'ay osé abuser de votre temps precieux, voyant que toutes mes peines étoit inutiles. Sans cela persuadé de votre inclination et bonne volonté pour notre colonie, je n'aurois pas manquer, Monsieur, de prendre la liberté quelques fois de vous la recommander.

Ainsi n'y pouvant plus tenir j'ay été sur le point plus d'une fois de mettre bas mes emplois et de partir pour l'Europe[1], et j'ay l'honneur de vous assurer que si je n'avois craint que son Altesse Sérénissime auroit pris cette conduite en mauvaise part, je l'aurois fait et principalement lorsque l'année passée ayant demandé à Messieurs les Directeurs la permission de faire un tour en Europe et cela m'étant accordé, quatre semaines après me préparant pour partir je reçus une lettre, où on retiroit cette permission et on m'ordonna positivement de rester.

Cecy m'a obligé de remettre la main à la plume et de prendre la liberté d'écrire une lettre à son Altesse Sérénissime pour le prier très humblement de vouloir avoir la bonté de me tirer de cet esclavage, qui devient de jour en jour plus insupportable, et pour encore une fois recommander mon fils en sa protection.

Oserai je, Monsieur, implorer votre protection et votre intercession auprès de son Altesse Sérénissime? Je vous en auray une obligation intime pour le reste de ma vie. Je me flatte que vous voudrez bien avoir cette bonté pour moy.

Un des articles qui me chagrinent extrèmement, c'est qu'ayant la plupart de ma famille à Demerary, lorsque je vais là une ou deux fois par année et y reste six ou huit semaines, on m'en fait les reproches les plus sensibles et témoignent un mécontentement extrème.

Je ne scaurois en pénétrer la raison parce que soit que

[1] Cf. the note on p. 565.

je soye à Demerary, soit à Essequibo les affaires vont le même train et il n'y a pas la moindre différence. On ne s'en aperçoit pas ny dans l'une ny dans l'autre rivière.

Vous jugez bien, Monsieur, que mon séjour à Demerary quelques fois me doit être très agréable et me donner quelque délassement. J'y ay, comme j'ay l'honneur cy dessus de dire, ma famille. Ma fille aînée[1] avec quatre enfants ne peut faire ce voyage et me venir voir comme elle voudroit bien, elle l'a pourtant fait une fois cette année.

D'un autre côté cette colonie commencée sous ma direction qui m'a coûté tant de peine et de soins commençant à fleurir et à avançer autant que le temps présent peut le permettre, ayant présentement passé 160 plantages, là où Essequibo n'en a qu'environ 70 au plus, et avançant de jour en jour, ce doit m'être un véritable plaisir de l'aller voir quelques fois et cela ne peut être jugé que très naturel.

Mais il est temps de finir cette longue lettre. Excusez je vous prie d'excuser la liberté que je prends et celle de vous assurer que je seray toute ma vie avec le plus profond respect,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.R.O. 474/181

February 9, 1769.

(Extracts)

There is not the slightest probability of a Cartel being concluded with the Spanish Governor for the exchange of deserters on either side, whether they be whites or others, that being a matter to be regulated by the respective

[1] Maria Catharina, married first to van Bercheyck and afterwards to van den Heuvel, both Commanders of Demerara (cf. p. 33).

Sovereigns. Moreover, whenever it is desired to enter into any negotiation with them this ordinarily proceeds so slowly on their side that, before any agreement is come to, one Governor's term of office expires (that being only for three years), and everything has to be done anew, for experience has taught us that the successors will in nowise conform to the engagements of their predecessors[1].

As regards the running away of slaves, there is no possibility of regulating anything advantageously before that subordination, which (as YY. HH. well express it in Your Honours' letter to the Commander in Demerara) is at the lowest ebb, shall be restored, and again placed on a good footing. So long as this is not the case, of what assistance are all the orders and publications of the Court and of myself? Pursuant to a Resolution of the Court at the last ordinary Session, there was renewed, in extremely stringent terms, the ordinance that no slaves should be allowed to leave their plantation without a certificate from their master, and that those which are found without one on the river should be brought to the Fort. This is now almost three months ago, and yet no single example of that which was ordained has transpired, and the same is the case with numerous other things.

. . . . .

Time does not permit me to look through a chest of papers for a copy of the journal of J. La Chau and Elias Lindgreen concerning their journey through Demerara as far as the great fall[2] (which is 80 feet high) and to the Post on the Upper Essequibo, where, having quarrelled, La Chau returned and Lindgreen proceeded further up, but was never heard of again. But I am as certain as I am of being alive that I had the honour of writing YY. HH. all the details

[1] See note on p. 65.

[2] See p. 465. La Chau clearly crossed from the Demerara to the Essequibo by the Indian path and was stopped at the great fall on the latter river (see p. 112).

and of sending the journal, which was very well compiled; thereupon YY. HH. did me the honour of replying that the journal had given YY. HH. much pleasure and that if La Chau was willing to resume his journey YY. HH. would defray the cost, the first having been at my expense. Such was also his firm intention and I had ordered and received from Mr P. de Bruijn all the requisite things, such as aqua fortis, quicksilver, &c., &c., &c., but by that time Mr Spoors had engaged the man as manager for the plantation "Laurentia Catharina" (where he remained until that gentleman's death[1], having left it only this year), which grieved me very much, for besides the outlay being lost no fitter man could have been found for such a task. As far as I remember it must have been in the year 1761 or 1762[2].

. . . . .

That slaves are much cheaper in Surinam than here is perfectly certain and in the English possessions, in spite of big consignments to the Spanish, they cost no more than 300 guilders a piece, whilst here we have to give six or seven hundred. It may be urged that purchasers are mad to pay this, but what are they to do? They must have slaves, else they are not only at a standstill but losing money, and the number of those imported here is far less than half of that actually needed. Had there not been this dearth, what a Colony would this not have been! We have been twelve consecutive years without the arrival of a single slave-ship[3]; it has been irreparable and ruinous for the Colony that the slave trade devolved from the Honble. Co. to private merchants. The Company would not have left its Colonies so denuded, especially as its own interests were involved, whilst the merchants, regarding their private concerns only, cared but little for the Colonies' progress.

[1] This took place on *Feb. 22, 1768* (P.R.O. 474/70) and was recorded by Storm in the briefest words.

[2] See p. 413.

[3] See remarks on pp. 299, 300.

It is all one to them as long as they make money, and I really believe that if the slaves were sold at a thousand guilders each they would still complain.

. . . . .

The Assistant Gerrit van Leeuwen has reported to me concerning the Post in Cuyuni that he had heard from the fugitive Indians that a detachment of Spaniards had come to just above the Post and had captured and taken away a whole party of Indians; that they had threatened to come again during the next dry season and proceed as far as Masseroeny to capture a party of Caribs there, and that they would then sail down the Masseroeny and again up the Cuyuni and visit the Post on their way. I immediately sent him back again (after having provided him with gunpowder and other things), and charged him to use the oars as much as possible, and to find out through the medium of the Indians the time about which they would commence their expedition and to inform me of the same, when, in order that they may have a fitting reception, I will send a commando to Mr van der Heyde upon "Old Duynenburg" (with whom I have already spoken on the matter and arranged what measures are to be taken), past which plantation they must go.

. . . . .

From the Register YY. HH. will see that at the end of 1768 there were thirty-four plantations more than in 1767, which, together with the newly allotted grounds not yet enumerated there, will make about fifty, and over a thousand slaves more. Talking the matter over this morning with Commandant Bakker and reckoning that at most only six hundred permitted slaves had come in, he said that it was evident that the cold weather had made people's consciences less elastic, and that the return was therefore more correct.

P.R.O. 474/195

February 21, 1769.

(Extracts)

It is certainly very hard for me, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, that I must so long remain so heavily laden, that I cannot obtain my discharge and that there is such a great delay in filling up the vacant posts. Those who have never been in these parts cannot believe how troublesome and pressing my duties are; I cannot enjoy the least rest, for there is nothing of any importance whatsoever that has not to go through my hands or at least to be done under my supervision. Whatever I do not do myself I must look over, and if necessary correct, wherefore it is not surprising if I often forget something, which I hope and flatter myself YY. HH. will kindly excuse and not take amiss. I have learnt so much in my dealings with former secretaries that I trust nothing more and desire to see and know everything.

It is not laziness, Noble and Right Honble. Sirs, that moves me to urge so repeatedly and *passim* for my discharge, for it is in nowise my intention, when dismissed, to withdraw my services, if needed, from the Company or to lead an empty life. That would be an impossibility for me, and I am so used to being occupied that if I am but half a day without work (which seldom happens) I hardly know where I am, and did I not take up a book should not know what to do with myself.

But my duties are too many for one man to perform, and of such variety that extraordinary care is required to prevent getting into confusion. If I had no fixed and regular order in my work, no fixed time and hour for each sort, and not constantly a memorandum at hand upon which immediately to note everything that occurs to me I should never get through it. This is what the Com-

mander[1] is lacking in, as I have often told him. With less to do he has infinitely more trouble to do it than I. It is all very well to be experienced, zealous and industrious, but where there is no regular order these qualities are of little avail. He kills himself and cannot possibly go on; does as much work again as is necessary, as at present, when he is engaged in going round the whole river Demerara to collect the poll-, recognition- and sale-dues in arrear. This is a very tiring business, and unnecessary. I do not move a step and get it in better than he does; but to those who do not pay I send the bailiff at their expense. This they know and are careful. Had Rousselet done the same, as I often advised him, his estate would not be in such confusion. But besides that he, and not his wife, ought to have been master, for the poor man was really but a cipher in his own house.

I have taken the liberty of applying once more to His Serene Highness for my discharge.

. . . . .

How is it possible, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, that YY. HH. could have thought of putting away and selling the macroon slaves? YY. HH. can certainly not have thought this matter over, for not only would it be very hard to hand over to other masters slaves who, now old and decrepit, have worn out their lives in the Company's service, but be further pleased to consider, YY. HH., that most, if not all of Your Honours' slaves, both at the Fort and on the plantations, have amongst those macroons their fathers, mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, and that

[1] Jan Cornelis van den Heuvel, third Commander of Demerara, entered upon his duties *Feb. 12, 1766* (P.R.O. 472/202) and married the same year Maria Catharina, the Director-General's elder daughter (see p. 33) and widow of L. L. van Bercheyck, his predecessor in office; he obtained his discharge, at his own request, in *1771* (see p. 648).

YY. HH. might certainly rely upon losing at least three-fourths of Your Honours' slaves by such action, even if it were of no worse consequences. Besides, who would bid a farthing for such slaves that are naught else than a burden? Personally, I would not have them as a gift, excepting perhaps about four, like my old cook Claertje, who was the first slave I possessed and who is a very good midwife.

. . . . .

The matter concerning Tampoko is still very serious and far from clear. The Caribs who were with him, and who were examined by Mr van der Heyde and sent to me, all persist in saying exactly what they said before, without deviating from their words in the least. The Aruwaks, who were really the complainants, and three of whom (one being a woman) came to me whilst Tampoko was still up the river, and whom I had expressly ordered to come down again when he was here, have not reappeared, and though they have been told by Mr van der Heyde that they must absolutely come down to be confronted with Tampoko, they have stayed away.

The Carib Owl who rendered such great services at the time of the rebellion[1] is one of those who was with Tampoko, and coming down the river after his death and hearing of the same he began to weep, which I have never seen a Carib do yet; he said Tampoko was quite innocent of the charge brought against him, and he could not understand why he had hanged himself unless it was for some other reason. Not a single Acuway has appeared to make any complaint[2].

The nation of the Caribs, YY. HH., are looked upon as nobles among the Indians. It is a very good thing to have them as allies or friends, for they render excellent services, but they are formidable enemies, capable of more bravery

[1] See p. 563. [2] See p. 585.

and resistance than one would think. When their principal or great Owls come to me, they immediately take a chair and sit down, and will eat and drink nothing but what I have myself, and they call me by no other name than that of "mate" or "brother." A good way up the river there are several villages of that nation in which white people have never been seen. These are well populated, and the inhabitants get what they want through those of their nation who deal with us. We can rely upon them as friends in case of need. My brother-in-law, van Bercheyck, who is not afraid of trifles, once visited a village of that kind up the Weyne, but he told me that he was never so much afraid in his life as when he saw 200 Caribs surrounding him armed with their bows and arrows, and although it was an extraordinarily profitable journey, and he had obtained about 50 hammocks and two slaves, and had been invited by the Chief to return in the following year, he declared to me that he would not undertake it again for four times as much.

. . . . .

Much trouble has been taken to come to an agreement with Mr Clarke's delegates[1], but in vain, and according to what he wrote me I imagine that he will be far from satisfied with the arrangement proposed. I do not think, however, he will move any further in the matter, but if he does it cannot be disadvantageous to the Colony, and that has always been my opinion. That gentleman is gradually getting rid of all his possessions, having now only two plantations, "Het Loo" and "De Vriendschap" in Demerara, "Hampton Court," "The Golden Grove," "The Beehive" and "The Garden of Eden" being already sold.

. . . . . .

[1] Concerning payment of his claim for sending assistance at the time of the Berbice revolt. Cf. pp. 43, 44 and 483.

Never, Your Honours, have I had such pressure of business as now. On the 3rd we had the slave auction and before and after that auction people coming in for their accounts; on the 4th Capt. Cotton's auction, and during that sale my office was as full of people as it could hold, so that the whole day long I was making out accounts, receiving payment and giving receipts. It was impossible to enter anything in the books and I had to put everything together in my desk and stay away from church next day in order to book it, for several bills having been drawn and only the sums noted, without any why or wherefor, I did not trust my memory to wait any longer. Besides, on the 5th the second instalment of the "Zeeberg" was due, and this too I paid on that day.

. . . . .

On the night between the 5th and 6th of this month, a creole carpenter named Elias belonging to YY. HH., the negro Kleyn Jan, my two hunters and a female creole belonging to de Scharde, ran away, for what reason I cannot imagine, because the two hunters have never suffered the slightest ill-treatment and did just what they liked, whilst Elias, having been ill, had not worked for two years, and now that he is better runs away. I have sent information of this to the Post at Maroco and have also sent immediate warning to Mr van der Heyde, because I feel certain that they took the road to Cuyuni in order to reach the Spanish Missions that way.

P.R.O. 474/200

February 21, 1769.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

I have just received a report from Mr van der Heyde that our runaways have taken the road to Cuyuni and are therefore lost. The Caribs have reported to that gentle-

man that the Spaniards have established a Mission not far above the Post in that river, and yet another in a creek a little higher up, flowing into the Cuyuni, both of which have been strongly manned[1].

It is finished now, Your Honours; neither Postholders nor Posts are of any use now. The slaves can now proceed at their ease to the Missions without fear of being pursued, and we shall in a short time have entirely lost possession of the River Cuyuni.

Must we allow all this to go on before our eyes? The natural result of this must infallibly be that the River Essequibo will gradually be ruined and abandoned. If we had shown our teeth when, contrary to the law of nations, they attacked and destroyed the Post in Cuyuni, and when we had the power in our hands, it would never have gone so far as this, but all action was then forbidden me. The proverb says, "Whoever turns himself into a sheep will be eaten by the wolf[2]."

I have thought it well to give YY. HH. notice in haste of this occurrence so untoward for the Colony.

Remaining with deep respect and esteem,

Your Honours'

most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—I have had to open this again, because, just as the letter bag was being closed, I received a report that five more slaves have run away. I fear that this will now go on like wildfire.

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[1] See note on p. 90.

[2] *Die zig selve tot een schaep maekt word door den wolf opgegeten*

P.R.O. 474/203

March 3, 1769.

(Extract)

To-day, February 25, "De Laurens en Maria" has not yet arrived and we are beginning to be uneasy about it, but as that vessel is an especially bad sailer hopes are entertained that she will still turn up.

I hope to utilize the time between now and the Court meeting in putting into order whatever else there is left, for I flatter myself that my humble petition for discharge will at length have been granted and that I shall see my successor arrive within three or four months.

The chief part of the work is now done; the Secretary's office put in order, the accounts looked up and everything that concerns the two last Secretaries noted. When the books and accounts demanded of Mr Spoors' heirs have been delivered, the matters concerning Mrs Rousselet's estate settled (which will possibly be done at the April meeting), and Your Honours' commands communicated to the burgher-officers little or nothing more than the usual course of business will be left for my successor and the new secretary to do.

But YY. HH. cannot imagine what trouble and worry it has cost me to bring matters so far; it was however all cheerfully done and I was even pleased to have an opportunity at the end of my service of giving YY. HH. proofs of my attachment and fidelity to the Honourable Company.

In my second letter by the "Vrouw Anna," I had the honour to give YY. HH. a hasty account of the dangerous position of the River Cuyuni; since then I have given express commands that one of the two assistants there should proceed up the river as far as possible, or as far as he could go without any danger; that he should make a very careful inspection of the situation of the Spanish Missions, and that he should get the Indians to procure

him an exact account of their strength and further particulars. If possible, he was to bring down one or more of the Indians living at those Missions, and I also gave orders that they should be well on their guard at the Post against surprise parties (which, according to all appearances, will very probably be undertaken before long), and that they were to come and report to me as speedily as possible.

The creole Elias is one of the four slaves belonging to VV. HH. who have run away; he is acquainted with all the roads there, because those who are half-free have all lived up[1] in Cuyuni for many years past.

At the old Mission, which is situated about two or three hours' distance from the banks of the Cuyuni, in a creek flowing into that river, there are now, as far as I am aware, the following slaves belonging to the Honourable Company:—

The creole Ariaen, carried off as a prisoner at the former raid upon the Post, a competent smith.

The creole Elias, a carpenter.

The creole Jambi.

The red slaves Pouw, Jantje, and Coffy,

and the negro, Kleyn Jan,

together with a female slave belonging to de Scharde.

What slaves belonging to colonists may be there is still unknown to me, nor do I know whether the three belonging to Bulskouw and the two belonging to the widow Langenberg who ran away a few days ago have gone in that direction.

But this is certain, that the road for the runaways is now quite open and free, it being impossible for the Post in Cuyuni to stop them, there being a number of inland paths; nor can we be warned in any way by Indians, there being no more of these in that river. They did begin to

[1] The original has *beneden*="down," but we find that term occasionally used in this way as a synonym of *boven*="up."

settle there again when the Post was re-established, but the raid made by the Spaniards last year, when a large party of Indians were captured and taken away, has filled the rest with terror, and they are gradually drawing off.

Mr de Rapper was fortunate enough to capture a slave belonging to Zeagers, and two belonging to J. B. Struys, who had deserted and fled up the river, and whom he has restored to their masters, with the exception of one belonging to Struys, who hanged himself as soon as he was discovered.

But this occurs only once in a thousand times, and was only due, I believe, to their ignorance of the road.

There is not a single negro belonging to the Honourable Company who is not perfectly acquainted with the road, Your Honours' plantation of "Duynenburg" being situated at the corner of Cuyuni.

[To J. C. van den Heuvel, Commander of Demerara.]

P.R.O. 474/214

Zeelandia, March 10, 1769.

My dear Son,

I have this moment received a report from Mr Buisson that the Spaniards are carrying off the Indians from Maroco and have made themselves masters of the Post. What will come of this? If the ships are not yet gone, inform Their Honours of this and send them this letter. Order the lighthouse keeper and the plantations below to be on their guard; the plantations here have already been warned by Buisson. I have no direct report yet. I shall send a letter viâ Barbadoes or Saint Eustatius as soon as I have a direct report.

I remain, in haste, &c.,

Your affectionate father,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.R.O. 474/215

March 15, 1769.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

I have written, by special messenger, to the Commander in Demerara, and ordered him to warn his lighthouse service and all the inhabitants below to be well on the look-out, and at the same time that if, contrary to expectation, the ships the "Vrouw Anna" or "Geertruida Christiana" had not put out to sea, to send YY. HH. my letter to him, as the time and circumstances permitted me to write not even to YY. HH., more especially as the bad news received was transmitted by no other channel than that of a free Indian, from whom no certain or sure information is obtainable.

In my previous despatches I had the honour from time to time to inform YY. HH. of the secret doings of the Spaniards and especially in my second letter by the "Vrouw Anna," and in my letter by the "Geertruida Christiana," I wrote circumstantially concerning the fatal and, for the Colony, most highly perilous news of the River Cuyuni. My opinion has always been that they would gradually acquire a foothold in Cuyuni, and try to obtain the mastery of the river, as they now practically have done at the end of the past year[1].

[1] The Directors' reply, dated *Oct. 9, 1769*, ran :—

"But we are at the same time of opinion that that river is not in the slightest danger, and the river of Essequibo as little, through the latest enterprises of the Spaniards, which, in private letters from a few individuals in the Colony to persons in the Province of Holland, have been discussed at great length as of the most dangerous consequences : and your own letters of the 3rd and 15th June say not a single word about the Spaniards, just as if they had never existed.

"In order nevertheless to place ourselves beyond reproach in this respect, there shall be sent by the ship "de Zwerver," skipper D. Plutman, the 25 recruits promised in our letter of the 24th July last, or in any case as many fit persons as we shall be able to get ; and, to remedy the complaints made in your aforesaid letter of the 12th May

But I should as soon have expected heaven to fall, as that they, in so high-handed a manner, openly (as if in open warfare), in breach of the law of nations, in breach of all Treaties of Alliance with His Catholic Majesty, should attack us from another side, and have the audacity to go to work as if they were Sovereigns of this whole coast.

On March 10 I received two consecutive letters from Councillor M. Buisson, which gave me information that an Indian named Adahoure, from Pomaroon, had come to his house and related to him that the Spaniards, with two Capuchin Fathers, a detachment of soldiers, and a large party of armed Waykiers[1], were capturing and taking away

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about the lack of sufficient muskets in the Colony, you shall receive 200 muskets, 200 cartridge-boxes, 200 cutlasses, and further ammunition, &c., specified in Resolution inclosed *sub lit.* C., to which we refer, inasmuch as it states the purpose for which we send those arms and ammunition, and likewise instructions as to the care which we wish to be taken thereof; not doubting but you will have this duly regarded.

"But at this opportunity we cannot omit inquiring what becomes and has become of the muskets, &c., of all those soldiers who during these last few years have deserted, been discharged, or died; also, what has become of the 50 muskets and cutlasses which we sent you in 1762, and of which you will find mention in our letter of the 29th November of that year.

"We at least are not aware that they have ever been accounted for to the Company, which, however, should be done every year; for which reason we also trust that they are still at hand.

"For the rest, we shall try to send later a few more Protestant or Lutheran recruits; and other means of help we do not know, but, to speak frankly, we can for the present see no such great necessity therefor."

[1] The only hypothetical identification to be made in this case is with the Guaicas mentioned in a Spanish document of *1758* (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 66), the Uaicas spoken of by Ribeiro de Sampaio (*ib.* i. p. 132), the Oaycas alluded to by Gama Lobo (*ib.* i. p. 192) and the Uaycas of De Souza (whose work, written in *1822*, was published in the *Revista Trimensal* (Ser. ii. tom. 3) in *1848*). Each writer speaks of these as dwelling on the R. Branco or its tributaries, but occasional migrations were not at all rare.

as prisoners all the free Indians between Barima and Pomaroon, and that they had actually overpowered the Company's trading place Marocco, and that they were now there, but that he had as yet no further knowledge of the circumstances. On the 11th came the assistant from Marocco with a letter from the Postholder. From his written Report, copy whereof is here annexed, YY. HH. will perceive to what pitch the insolence of our neighbours goes.

YY. HH. can now see what consequences indulgence and patience have; this causes me no surprise. I have long foreseen and expected it: however, I could not presume that they would have dared to undertake so bold a deed.

The Postholder has behaved himself very well; he did not run away, though they tried hard to make him do so, but remained firm at his post, and asked for a certificate from the Capuchin Fathers, which they have given him, much to my surprise, as hereby all denials and evasions were cut off.

Copy of this also goes annexed hereto.

They have captured and taken away all our people that were on the sea-coast. The salter of "Luyxbergen" has luckily escaped them, but his Indians, his vessels, two large canoes and three single canoes, which he had got by barter, they have taken away. He of "Duynenberg" returned early in the morning.

The alarm in the river is great. If they come to Pomaroon, as they have threatened, they can in three hours reach Essequibo overland, and can ruin our lowermost plantations.

May I ask once more whether all this must be borne quietly, and whether Your Honours' patience has not yet come to an end? With me it is *Patientia lesa tandem furor fit*[1].

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[1] *Furor fit laesa saepius patientia.* Publilius Syrus, 203.

What can I do with such a small garrison? The burghers are not yet ready for service—the letters to the burgher officers calling them together on the last day of March have been sent off—the general meeting is at hand, and there is *periculum in mora*—three clerks are continually at work writing commissions, instructions, and orders, but everything is so spread about that it will take twelve or fourteen days before everyone can be warned.

With the exception of the rebellion of Berbice this is one of the most critical matters I have been in during my long years of service. Had I the power and were my hands free I should not feel embarrassed, and would be quite willing to risk my grey head in the affair.

With this same opportunity I have the honour to send His Highness a circumstantial report, and will send copies by way of Surinam or Saint Eustatius[1]. This I hope to be able to dispatch over Barbadoes.

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[1] Upon receipt thereof the Prince wrote as follows :—

To the Representative and Directors of the Chartered West India Company, in the Presidial Chamber, Zeeland.

Honourable Sirs,

We have duly received your missive of the 26th of last month, whereby you transmitted a letter addressed to Us by the Director-General in Essequibo, Mr L. Storm van 's Gravesande, concerning certain enterprises of the Spaniards from Orinoco against two of the Company's Posts in the aforesaid Colony....

From the letter of the aforesaid Director-General We have learned with much regret the danger to which the Colony of Essequibo is exposed, with its slender means of defence, through the hostilities of the Spaniards; and as We judge the preservation of the American possessions in general, and that of the Colony aforesaid in particular, of the most extreme moment for the Republic, We therefore fully approve your praiseworthy intention of addressing yourselves regarding this matter to Their High Mightinesses, and of making to that high authority such request and urgent appeal as is indicated in your letter; and it is Our opinion that this should be done, the earlier the better, and without loss of time...and We will further not

My express has just come back from Demerary. The Commander informs me that Captain W. Dryber had closed his letter-bag and set sail four hours ago; that he had immediately followed him and overtaken him at Looft's place, and that he had written YY. HH. and had sent my letter, for which he has taken a receipt from the aforesaid Captain, so that I hope YY. HH. will already have had a general report before the receipt of this.

I have at present not a moment's rest, what with the colonists, the letters, and the Indians, and in addition to this, all the accounts which have to be made up by the 3rd of April. Your Honours, I do not know how to get through it all.

I hope and do not doubt that YY. HH. will use every effort with Their High Mightinesses to bring about the lasting preservation of Your Honours' territory and jurisdiction.

When ready to conclude this [letter], the Assistant Postholder, Schreuder, arrived from the Post Arinda up the Essequibo, bringing with him the Common Chief or Great Owl of the Caribs up in Essequibo, and reporting to me that the Spaniards of Oronoque have sent the Chief of the Cerekons[1] (a tribe dwelling in Oronoque), named Maripurma, with his people, in order to rob or slay the Caribs; that they had met the Postholder Jansse in Rupununy

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omit efficaciously to second with Our favourable support your request and urgent appeal before Their High Mightinesses.

Wherewith We commend you to God's Holy keeping.

Your well-wishing friend,

W., PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Soestdijk, July 7, 1769.

[1] This is the only reference made by Storm to this tribe. They may have been the "Semicorals," alluded to by John Scott (see p. 176) just a century earlier, clearly the "Serekongs," mentioned by Richard Schomburgk as inhabiting the sources of the Massaruni in *1842* (*Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, ii. pp. 237 and 253).

returning from the Crystal Mountain, and had slain him with all the Caribs which were with him, so that we are now embarrassed on all sides.

The Chief of the Caribs has come to request from me permission to attack and capture this Maripurma, not having dared to do this because he is below the Post near the Acuways, whom he is also annoying and molesting very much.

I have answered him he may freely do so, because a murderer ought to be followed up anywhere, on the express condition that he is not to do the least harm to the Acuways, which he promised, saying he was assured the Acuways would rather help than hinder him.

The barque to Barbadoes being on the point of sailing, and being obliged to send a copy of this as well as of the letter to His Highness to Demerary to-morrow, where a boat is lying ready to go to Surinam, I am obliged to close with expressions of respect, &c.

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.R.O. 474/222

April 4, 1769.

(Extracts)

March 16.—The chief of the Caribs, who is now here, goes up the river to-day. He has promised me to attack the murderers of the Postholder, and to hold all his people in readiness in case we might have need of them. Commandant Backer told him this morning that he would like to come up the river, and asked him whether he would then let him be master. He answered, "No, I am master of the Caribs. You can be master of the whites and of the other nations, and then we can together become masters of everything." I let him see one of the silver ring-collars

which I still have, and promised to give it to him, and to give him some clothes (of which they are very fond) if he behaved well.

. . . . . .

But, YY. HH., allow me to ask what is now to be done to get food for Your Honours' slaves? The salting is now entirely stopped, not alone in the mouth of the Orinocque, where we had carried on the fishery from time immemorial, but there are neither canoes nor corrials to be got for the plantations or the Fort along the whole of the sea-coast and we are shut in on all sides. I must now, *nolens volens* buy from the English, or allow Your Honours' slaves to go without rations, and what the results of that would be YY. HH. can easily imagine; and if I buy I shall have to draw upon YY. HH. I already owe the North Americans more than a thousand guilders, and have made this a charge upon the product of the sales, having, so to say, got in little or none of the cash. YY. HH. are quite right in recommending me to be economical and to draw little or nothing; but to allow the slaves to suffer want would be a very wrong kind of economy, and have ruinous results. There being nothing on the plantations and the out-runners having come back empty-handed after exposing themselves to the greatest danger and losing their men and boats, I must to-day send for cod from Barbados, since I hear that they are still at a moderate price. There is no more flour in the factory, the last having been distributed on the 18th of March, and there is still enough meat for three distributions. How matters stand in Demerary I hope to hear this week from the Commander, who has written me that he is coming up. I have just written to him by Mr Grant to buy six or eight casks of flour for the factory at the sale which is to be held in Demerary on the 21st.

P.R.O. 474/229

Demerara, May 12, 1769.

(Extracts)

What a pity it would be if such a flourishing Colony (such as this is now growing) were to be ruined by rogues and pirates, as must inevitably be the case if no powerful measures are adopted to resist the pirates from Orinoco and make them abandon their expeditions!

According to the last reports from the Postholder and from the Caribs, they are still all in Barima, having sent their prisoners to Orinocque, and they threaten to come again at an early date, and not only carry off all the Indians from Pomeroon, but even attack and plunder our plantations.

It is not enough for them to protect our runaway slaves and to refuse to give them up, but they arm these very slaves and use them to attack and plunder us, for it is known with certainty, YY, HH., that the runaway slaves from "Aegtekerke" were with them, and that it was they who most urged them on.

Yesterday evening I received a despatch from Richter, the manager, informing me that an Owl with twelve Caribs had come to the Fort from Barima, and that he had considered it best to send him immediately to me, so that I might hear his report myself.

The said Owl being narrowly examined by me, through the medium of a very good interpreter, told me that the Spaniards in Barima, having been reinforced by another vessel, had at last attacked the Caribs themselves, captured several of the same, carried them off, burnt their houses and ruined their plantations; that they continued to make raids all around and along the sea-coast, and that they were making preparations to come to Pomeroon, and that they said that when they had finished there they would come to

Essequibo and attack the plantations and even the Fort itself.

I regard the latter as a vain Spanish boast, but they are quite capable of doing all the rest.

Things have now actually reached such a stage that we can return violence with violence, but is it not a sad thing, YY. HH., that we have such a weak garrison and not six men among them upon whom we can place the least reliance? To send a small detachment of twelve or sixteen men down would really be to *risquer le tout pour le tout*, for if they were all disloyal, as is only to be expected from Frenchmen and Catholics, and went over to the Spaniards, all would be lost, because not the least reliance is to be placed upon the citizens.

So that, since the outlook is daily becoming blacker for the Colony, it is high time to make some provision, and as there is great danger of total ruin it is highly necessary that powerful and speedy measures should be adopted to prevent the same.

I asked the Carib Owl this morning whether the Caribs were no longer men, and whether they had no hands with which to defend themselves, whereupon he replied, "Indeed, they have; but the Spaniards have guns, and we only bows and arrows. Give us muskets, powder, and shot, and we will show you what we are." Even had I been inclined I could not have done so, having no further supply of these than just sufficient for the garrison[1].

. . . . . .

The Postholder of Arinda, Jansse, who, according to report, had been killed, has fortunately escaped, and has arrived at the Fort.

He is the first of the Postholders who has carried out my orders and been to the Crystal Mine up in Ripenowini.

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[1] See Directors' reply *Oct. 9, 1769* (pp. 605, 606).

The assistant Bont writes me that he has brought some large pieces of crystal with him; that he has told him that he has been to the place where the Brazilian diamonds are found; that the Indians would on no account allow him to dig or to search there, and that the place is close to the Crystal Mine. This corresponds with what was told me by Mr del Torres de Bandeyra, the second person in Brazil, who some years ago stayed in Essequibo at my house about three weeks; who, being introduced by me to Mr Clarke, departed by his aid to England and thence to Lisbon, whence I received a letter of thanks from him, mentioning also that having settled his affairs satisfactorily, he was about to depart for Brazil in his previous capacity[1].

This gentleman told me that there was not a single Portuguese who knew where the diamond mine was; that it having been their intention to send out one of their viceroys to discover the same, the Indians had threatened that if a Portuguese went in that direction the whole nation would immediately break up and "trek" further inland, by which they would lose the whole of this advantage, &c. Whereupon the expedition was not only abandoned, but exploration was strictly forbidden.

I have written to Essequibo and charged the Postholder to come to me here in Demerary as soon as he had rested a bit, in order that I may examine him narrowly concerning this discovery, this being a matter of great importance which ought not to be overlooked.

By this we have unexpectedly and undesignedly become acquainted with a place of which the possessors of those precious stones have hitherto had no knowledge themselves.

I shall postpone my further remarks concerning this until I have spoken to and examined the Postholder.

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[1] Cf. pp. 414 and 464.

The infirmity from which I have been suffering since January 3 has not yet left me and I find myself getting weaker daily, so that work is a burden and trouble to me, for I can only turn to it at intervals. It is therefore getting high time for me to be released from it all, else I fear, not without good reason, that I shall, *nolens volens*, have to give it up altogether, for *ad impossibile nemo tenetur.*

. . . . .

Yesterday I received a letter per express from Commandant Backer, which I take the liberty of inclosing.

In this YY. HH. will find the report from Mr van der Heyde concerning Cuyuni. If the news be true (which I can scarcely believe) then things are going badly, and there remains no other alternative but to adopt measures of violence or reprisal. The depredations of the Spanish from Barima to Pomeroon continuing daily we must acknowledge that they are capable of anything and that we must expect all kinds of violent and piratical acts from them. The poor colonists on the west coast below Essequibo are in a terrible state of alarm and are on the look-out night and day. If the regulations were strictly and literally observed there would not be such great fear of those pirates in the river, but everything is done in such a slow and lazy manner that I really lose all patience. Here is a matter in which they are threatened with total ruin; one would think that ought to wake them up.

I have written to the Commandant to have recourse to every possible aid in investigating this; and as soon as I have trustworthy information about it I shall (please God!) have the honour to report to YY. HH. as speedily as possible by the first opportunity that presents itself, whether viâ Barbadoes, St Eustace, &c.

P.R.O. 474/241

June 3, 1769.

(Extracts)

There has not been a single Postholder at Arinda who has not been ordered by me to go to the Crystal Mine (here called the Calikko Mountain) and to find out all particulars concerning it. Not one of them has done so, they having always put forth various pretexts—at one time that there was high water, at another that the natives were at war, and at yet another something else, but the true cause was their ungrounded fear of the savage tribes living in those parts.

Jansse having also received this order in his instructions commenced his journey as soon as the water up in the river had come to a standstill and proceeded up the River Ripenowini, accompanied by a good interpreter, who understood the language of the Macoussis well.

It took him quite two months to get there[1]. YY. HH.

[1] The course of Jansse's journey is indicated on map No. 5 in the Atlas to the British Case in the Arbitration with Brazil: it is also discussed in the text of that Case (p. 35). He clearly took the route followed by Dutch traders ever since the early years of the century and notably by Horstman (see pp. 167–174). The path has often since been followed by British explorers and officials and we can easily go with him in imagination from the post at the mouth of the Rupununi, up that river in low water, over sandbanks and other obstacles, till he reached the savannahs near Pirara: here he would meet the Macusis who still live on the upper Rupununi and Takutu, and very quickly get into relation with their neighbours the Wapisanas who lived and still live immediately West and South of the Macusis. The Mahu on both sides of which they are said to live is that part of the Takutu beyond its junction with the Ireng or Mahu proper: up to Schomburgk's time that reach was usually confused with the Mahu, and is said to look more like a continuation of it: as to its connexion with the southern rivers the information given to Storm was quite accurate. Clearly the rocks and cliffs to which the Wapisanas retired were then, as now, the Canaku mountains. See also observations on p. 79 and the route marked in colour on our Map.

must not believe that the journey is such a long one, but when with Indians the longest day's journey is four [Dutch] miles, and then every three or four days they have a rest day, and at every tribe one comes to one is obliged to stop for a few days. A drought of six months has made the waters fall so low up there that in many places he could not get his boat along, but had to drag it.

On arriving at the Macoussis he hired an interpreter who spoke the language of the Wapissannes, which tribe lives near the Crystal Mine on both sides of the River Maho. It is the same tribe which a few years ago (fifteen or sixteen years if I remember rightly) killed Louis Marcan, with two other whites[1]. I had prophesied this to him before his departure, that Frenchman being much too hasty and excitable to be able to deal with wild Indians.

The river, called the Maho on d'Anville's Map, is called Mejou here by the Indians. There is one of the same name up in Cuyuni; whether it is the same river or another I do not know[2]. It flows into the Rio Branco, the latter into the Rio Negro, which again has communication with the Amazon and Orinoco. According to the old descriptions and traditions, the Maho must have its source in the famous Lake of Parima, if such a lake exists. The river being quite as broad and deep as Demerary, according to the description of the Postholder, it is not easy to understand whence it gets its waters, since it cannot extend very far inland, because the Rio Negro cuts through the whole country from the Amazon to the Orinoco.

The Postholder coming to the Wapissannes, who had not seen a white man since the affair with Marcan, and who were thus in want of all European things, was received

[1] This was in *1753*; see p. 302.

[2] For the identity of the "Mejou" in Cuyuni see notes on pp. 90 and 307. The one visited by Jansse is mentioned by Storm in *1764* (see p. 462).

exceptionally well, and coming to their Chief and seeing about ten muskets there, but no powder or shot, he presented him with a bottle of powder and some small shot, by which he at once gained his entire friendship.

This tribe lives in the savannahs by day, but at night they retire to inaccessible rocks and cliffs, where they have their houses and caves, all the approaches to which, however steep, are still defended by palisades through fear of the powerful tribe of the Manoas or Magnauws, with whom they are always at war.

He also found there the tribe of the Parhavianes who were still living up in Essequibo in my time, and who, being too greatly molested by the Caribs, removed thither.

This place being his destination he stopped there for a few weeks and carefully investigated everything. When he wished to dig up the crystal which grows there in many places in a red dry soil, the natives would not allow him to do so, saying that they would give him crystal enough; he did bring some with him, but only small pieces, with the exception of one as large as half a fist.

They said to him, "You are looking for something else than crystal, but that you will not find here, but with our neighbours across the Maho, who sell those stones to the Portuguese." He replied, "I will willingly pay for them, too; I want nothing for nothing, and shall go there." This they prevented him from doing, saying, "They are a wicked tribe, they will kill you; but we will manage to get some of those stones for you."

The Postholder thinks with me that this opposition only springs from trade jealousy, they being afraid that they would lose that trade and that it would all go to their neighbours, or that they only pretended it was so, and that they knew the mines themselves, especially since they strictly forbade him to search or to dig; there was nothing to be done here by force, so that he was obliged to be

satisfied with noting everything narrowly and with wandering about the place, which they allowed him to do, but always with a few young Wapissannes by his side. The land there consists mostly of high mountains and rocks, bare, but wooded here and there with small shrubs, and great savannahs.

In those savannahs he saw large tracts, quite bare, without the least bit of grass, upon which tracts there lay every morning in the dry season (as it was when he was there) something white, like a hoar-frost or snow; this the Indians gathered in the morning, mixed with water and strained, getting from it by subsequent evaporation a fine white salt which they used themselves and bartered with their neighbours. This is undoubtedly the pure, natural nitrum or saltpetre[1].

He went a little lower into great woods of cinnamon trees, some of the bark of which he brought with him, but it was taken from old trees and the inner and outer bark being all in one was sharp and unpleasant. A single piece, taken from a young tree, although of both barks, was as good in smell and flavour as any from Ceylon and much better than that we generally get here.

This having been only an attempt and the way being now opened, because he may now come there welcome and free, which is a good beginning, I have given him full and circumstantial written instructions, and also verbal ones as far as possible:

1°. How the emeralds were found in the Crystal Mines

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[1] In *1893* Mr C. A. Lloyd collected some of the soil from the depressions in the Pirara savannah; it is a black sandy humus of a saltish taste with small visible crystals. Professor J. B. Harrison, who analysed a sample of the earth, states that it contains chlorides of sodium and magnesium and sulphates of calcium and magnesium and is similar in respect to its salts to the subsoils near the coast. (*Timehri, June, 1893.*)

up in Orinoco according to the unanimous testimony of the Spaniards and the writers on precious stones.

2°. The rough appearance, weight, and characteristics of diamonds as they were explained to me in the year 1750 by Mr Blank in Amsterdam upon the order of His late Serene Highness of glorious memory.

3°. An order to bring away stones in which there appeared to be minerals, because although I am aware that few gold mines are exploited with any profit it is still certain that there are veins of gold in the mountains, and that gold is found in dust and in grains in the creeks and water-falls that run down from them, and that it is easily collected, though this is not so with silver mines. Besides this, I have seen some collars of the Indian Owls which make me believe that platina or white gold is found in those regions.

4°. To collect the second bark of cinnamon trees three or four years old when they are in full sap, and how to dry them, &c.

5°. To bring some fresh Acuway nuts, with all their husks.

6°. To bring a sample of the Indian salt.

And, further, a few instructions how to behave, and to try and obtain, in a friendly manner, permission from the Wapissannes to cross the Maho, and go to the neighbouring tribes.

He has again departed from here, and as soon as the water, which on account of the continual rains is extra high, begins to fall a little, he will again go up the river and immediately recommence his journey up the Ripenowini. I hope from the bottom of my heart that this may be successful and of great profit to the Honourable Company.

I have promised him that if he happens to make discoveries of any importance, he will be generously rewarded by YY. HH.

To-day (May 13) it is exactly thirty-one years since I arrived in this Colony and next October (if I live) it will be thirty-two years since I had the honour of taking the oath as Secretary in Your Honours' Assembly—a very long time when looking forward, but like a dream when past. I take the liberty of submitting to Your Honours' consideration and judgment whether the time has not yet come for me to enjoy a little rest.

. . . . .

The Houbabboe Company being now engaged in regulating and putting all into order will apply to the Court of Policy at its next meeting. They have compiled a chart of Houbabboe Creek which I saw this morning; from this I perceive that if the undertaking succeeds, all the plantations lying below that creek and all those on the sea-coast will have their value raised by fully a half.

P.R.O. 474/245

June 15, 1769.

(Extract)

The planters do not provide artizan slaves[1] and those of the Honble. Co. are so few in number and so advanced in age that they are unable to perform half the work required to be done on Flag Island.

When I undertook Fort Zeelandia things were quite different. There were then fully over twenty artizan slaves, including the creoles, and four slaves from each of the four sugar plantations always at the Fort; with these something could be done.

When it pleased YY. HH. to make that great reduction[2] and to give up the brick-works (upon whose advice I do

[1] For works undertaken by the administration.

[2] In *1751*. See pp. 37, 410 and 412.

not know or at least am not sure) YY. HH. no doubt thought it would be a great advantage to the Company. The contrary becomes daily more perceptible and I should not like to go into figures to prove what loss the Company has suffered by it, for it would surprise one, but I defy anyone to show that it has profited the Company twenty-five guilders. Not half a hogshead more of sugar has been produced and what loss the lack of bricks has caused may easily be imagined—"Luyxbergen" alone has suffered largely.

P.R.O. 474/248

July 31, 1769.

(Extract)

Having written thus far the letter-bag of "De Vliegende Visch" was brought me from Demerara and therein I found three of Your Honours' esteemed letters, all of May 1. I am neither strong enough nor able to answer them circumstantially and shall only reply, if I possibly can, to a few points contained therein.

I have long feared and foreseen that I should finally succumb under my burden, wherefore in all my letters to YY. HH. I begged *passim* for the favour of my discharge, for it is impossible for one person to do alone what I am obliged to do. Although acting *ad interim* as sales-master brings me in a fair amount and it is generally held that money sweetens labour this is not so with me. Never having been mercenary, and satisfied with my daily bread (for which alone we pray) that brings me no relief.

Moreover, YY. HH. would not believe what trouble I have and what work it gives me to collect the sales monies. When "De Gertruyda Christina" sailed I had not received half and when I paid Mr Boter the last instalment of "De Digna Johanna" I showed him that I had still twenty

thousand guilders due to me. Most of it has come in, it is true, but when pay-day arrives the sales-master is in great difficulties. I am still six or seven thousand guilders short for the vessel taking this letter; for "Zeeburg," whose last instalment I paid when due, I have eight thousand guilders owing to me in Demerara alone, without reckoning Essequibo and all the smaller sales. All this, added to the number of protested bills[1], makes my head swim, especially as I have no capital in Europe, and had I not been careful to abstain from buying in the first three slave-sales in order to have my salary in hand I could never have managed. So I shall be glad when I am relieved of this and of all else.

Then again Your Honours' displeasure if I stay in Demerara but a fortnight longer is very hard for me, as I feel very much better and am much better cared for there than here; but that is also past, and I hope I shall soon be free at last. Possibly I shall get my discharge from the Almighty before that from YY. HH., and from that there is no appeal. I do not deceive myself; I am daily getting weaker and more despondent, especially at finding I cannot do my work as usual and that everything gives me double trouble.

P.R.O. 474/264

September 23, 1769.

(Extracts)

Prevented by indisposition, I was not present at the sale[2], but heard from those who were that Mrs Rousselet expressed herself in very bold and impertinent terms,

[1] Largely in payment of smuggled slaves; cf. pp. 299, 300, 642, 652, 653 and 662.

[2] Of part of the estate belonging to Nicolas Rousselet de la Jarie, the late Secretary (see p. 546).

falling foul both of the Court and of myself. Personally, I do not let this trouble me, but think of Pope Alexander's reply on being told that Queen Christina had spoken very ill of him, and which consisted of only these two words: *è donna*—it is a woman.

. . . . .

Land in Demerara is rising in value daily and now stands at 30 to 36 guilders an acre. What a difference —ten years ago it was fetching two or three guilders.

P.R.O. 475/4

November 30, 1769.

(Extracts)

The Spaniards continue to cruise along the coast, so that there is no chance of getting anything salted for the plantations, which does both the Honourable Company and the planters a great deal of harm.

. . . . .

The Postholder of Maykouny has reported that a very large number of Caribs had come there and had asked him for permission to come and live in that river. All the Postholders having orders to keep on friendly terms with that nation and to favour them as much as possible, he immediately accorded them that permission, whereupon they laid out some plantations and have commenced to make their houses.

He says that the Caribs were nearly all dressed, and even had priestly garments and ornaments with them. This made me suppose that they had been ill-treated by the Spaniards to such an extent that they had at last adopted measures of reprisal and had raided some of the Missions. We have as yet not had the slightest tidings of this, all communications with Orinoco being still cut off.

Should my supposition be found correct, the Spaniards are not too good to put the blame of this matter upon our shoulders, their conscience telling them what they had deserved.

I should really shudder (as I always have done) to have recourse to such barbarous and un-Christian measures. I heartily wish that we could obtain full redress for the insults we have received and still continue to receive, but by honourable measures befitting Christian people; and therefore, did my strength permit it, I would be quite willing to risk my grey head in this once more, for the actions of that proud nation are really unbearable, and the more so because they presuppose a considerable measure of contempt, since the Spaniards in Orinoco must be fully convinced that if we chose to use our power with our Indians we could make the whole of Orinoco too hot for them.

Had the insults offered to our Post of Cuyuni been punished as they deserved the latter ones would most probably never have been committed, but what is done is done.

Meanwhile our fisheries are ruined, and we have lost all our runaway slaves. The slaves cannot live and work without rations, and three pounds of fish once a fortnight is really not much. This has now to be bought from the English. On the 18th I had to buy six barrels of cod; and if the English were not to come here, the Colony would be unfortunate indeed; this is very costly, too, both for the Company and the planters.

P.R.O. 475/12

December 21, 1769.

(Extract)

Were I not so full of ailments and did my strength but permit I would come to Europe in the spring after leaving everything here well regulated, but I dare not flatter myself it can be, for really, Noble and Right Honble. Sirs, I become quite despondent, and am so fully convinced of Your Honours' justice and reason that I know YY. HH. will not think me in the wrong. Is this dispute[1] concerning the Colony never coming to an end? Must I, old and worn-out, still suffer by it?

My feelings overcome me as I write and I must stop, concluding with the assurance that to the end I shall remain with all possible respect and esteem

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant.

P.R.O. 475/18

March 25, 1770.

(Extracts)

I will now answer Your Honours' esteemed letter.... The first thing that I come to is a paragraph concerning the Spanish outrage, and upon this I shall not dilate further, but simply refer to my last letter, and patiently await the results of Your Honours' well-based remonstrances to Their High Mightinesses. In the meantime, I shall not fail to do all I possibly can to prevent a continuance of those outrages, and for which I trust that the guns shipped by YY. HH. in the "Jan en Daniel," as I have seen from the invoices, will come in handy, and that they will

[1] See pp. 143–145

be put to good use on the arrival of the reinforcements for the garrison. YY. HH. need not fear that I shall expose myself needlessly. I intend to take up a quiet attitude; but if we are attacked, it being free to defend ourselves, I shall know what it behoves me to do.

. . . . . .

I did not send the list of the course of exchange in St Eustatius because I received a similar one, printed, from Surinam, and that I had the honour of forwarding. But is it not comical, YY. HH., that after so much talk and such tremendous efforts for a change, matters have after all been left *in statu quo* and the course of exchange, with a few unimportant exceptions, upon its old footing? *Mala ubi consuetudine recepta vim legis adispicantur non facile possunt aboleri quam tumvis damnoso sint* says Valerius Maximus very aptly.

. . . . . .

Your Honours' suggestion that I should split up my letters into several smaller ones is a very useful one and might, if carried out, prove most convenient, but kindly consider, YY. HH., how difficult it would be for me (especially now, at the end of my term of office) suddenly to alter my custom—*recens inbuta servat odorem testa diu*[1]. Secondly, if I were to write a separate letter concerning each specific subject, YY. HH. would have a great deal more to read than at present, since, in order to avoid being voluminous I express myself as briefly as possible, whilst in the other event I should certainly write more fully and circumstantially, for when I once begin to argue in my letters I cannot stop myself and must adduce all that is pertinent to the subject.

. . . . . .

I have now to answer what is to me a most painful paragraph concerning my discharge.

[1] Cf. p. 520.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, what have I personally to do with the dispute between the respective Chambers[1]? Beyond the desire, which springs from my obligations and my bounden and legitimate gratitude towards the Zeeland Chamber, and the conviction, based, as I believe, upon unshakeable grounds, that it would be profitable and advantageous for this Colony to remain under Zeeland—nothing further.

Will these differences concerning the free navigation never be decided or ended *quovis modo?* Must I then never be discharged? Having served fully thirty-two years must I be kept at work against my will and in spite of my incapacity to perform it?

. . . . . .

Having now answered Your Honours' letter *articulatim* I will pass to other matters. I cannot, however, refrain from referring once more to the infamous inventors and tale-bearers in this Colony, and especially in Demerara. From various private letters that came by this and earlier vessels I learnt with astonishment how I am suspected by the Chief Shareholders and possibly, I fear, by some of Your Honours' body, of being inimical to the interests of Zeeland and in favour of free navigation. My behaviour when I was in Europe in the years 1750 and 1751 should have convinced everyone *luce meridiana clarior* of the contrary, and were the Right Honourable Burgomaster Tibaut[2] still alive striking proofs hereof could be produced. Time does not permit me to look for the letters I received from His Honour at Amsterdam and the Hague, otherwise I would enclose them herewith. An uninterrupted service of more than 32 years should, I flatter myself, have made me better known.

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[1] See pp. 143–145.

[2] Johan Willem Thibaut (born *1 March, 1701*, died *4 Nov., 1759*) was burgomaster of Middelburg and a director of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company.

Incapable of concealing my honest opinions, I would, had I felt that free navigation were beneficial to the Colony, already long since have openly declared my sentiments to YY. HH. I am of old Holland[1] stock and was born at 's Hertogenbosch, but have always been *goed rond goed Zeeuwsch*[2] and afraid of no man; when in the army, I treated my superiors with no more than the necessary deference and by that conduct won their esteem, as I could prove by letters from Generaal van Pallandt[3], my colonel, and other chiefs. Being in fact too upright and outspoken has sometimes been prejudicial to me and also the reason why I no longer receive a single line from some gentlemen whom I flattered myself to be my friends—*veritas odium parit*[4] is a very old saying.

My family here is in perfect agreement with me in thinking that people must be mad not to know how prejudicial it would be to the plantations if, as they wish, we were to be under Holland instead of Zeeland, and I have heard the Commandant[5] speak very earnestly and zealously in public to that effect; I do not know my son's[6] opinion, but he left the Colony when still in his youth and before having any knowledge of the state of affairs.

I have the honour to have near blood relations in the assemblies of more than one province, and the good fortune to possess friends of some repute—do YY. HH. imagine that if there were the least ground for the suspicion referred to

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[1] As distinctive from the other six United Provinces, and, in this case, especially from Zeeland.

[2] "Frank as a Zeelander," see p. 429. It is difficult, in a close translation, to reproduce the fulness of Storm's period:—*Ik ben van een oude Hollandsche Famielje oorspronkelijk, een geboore Bossenaar, maar altoos goed rond goed Zeeuwsch geweest, voor niemand bevreesd.*

[3] See p. 645.

[4] *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.* Terence, *And.* I. i. 41.

[5] Johannes Bakker, Commandant of the militia in Essequibo, married Storm's daughter, Alpheda Louisa, in *1766*.

[6] Jeremias, his only surviving son.

I, who am not a lazy writer, would never have touched that string in my correspondence? But herein my conscience is quite at rest, and believe me, YY. HH., I would not have the least hesitation in writing to H. S. H. circumstantially concerning the matter, for *Recte faciendo neminem timeas* is my motto.

. . . . . .

Have I then no reason, nay, double reason to beg so persistently for my discharge? I know now that H. S. H. is inclined to aid me[1] and I trust it may be as soon as possible. God grant that in my place there may come one who is above suspicion, more competent and able than I to give H. S. H. and YY. HH. perfect satisfaction. Amen.

I have now written enough concerning this sad business. I could say a good deal more but I have neither time nor inclination to do so and shall conclude with this verse of Racine which expresses my feelings exactly and to the letter.

"*Celui qui met un frein à la fureur des flots*
Sait aussi des méchants arrêter les complots,
Soumis avec respect à sa volonté sainte
Je crains Dieu, chère amie, et n'ai nulle autre crainte[2]."

. . . . . .

To-day, January 12[3], Your Honours' several and highly esteemed letters to the Court of Policy were read, whereupon Mr Tuite, who, with his son, arrived here yesterday, was immediately allotted 500 acres of land in Coelesiraboe[4]

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[1] This knowledge was probably based upon something later than the assurance given him in writing by the Prince in *1766* (cf. p. 551).

[2] The correct text of the last line reads:—"Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte." *Athalie*, Act I., Sc. i.

[3] The date at heading is that of actual despatch.

[4] This was manifestly the same creek in which according to documents quoted by Rodway, who writes it *Coeleriseraboe* (*Hist. of British Guiana*, i. 120), the first grant of land in Demerara was made in *1746*. Cf. also p. 217.

Creek and handed the title-deeds for the same; the Court will have the honour to reply. Concerning Codin and the burgher-officers I have already had the honour to report above; the Court will write more circumstantially and it has been resolved that if Roman Catholics be found among them (which I doubt) such are to be *illico* discharged. With regard to the English Your Honours' remarks are well-based, but if YY. HH. were well acquainted with the planters in Demerara YY. HH. would be convinced that we had to make a virtue of necessity and have nominated the staider planters. Neither the Commander nor I have much inclination for English, but what are we to do if there is a dearth of eligible men, and I have seen in the minutes that at one time there were even Roman Catholic Councillors of Policy, which ought certainly not to be, but also then for want of better.

Having considered the matter very carefully I cannot see how the English burghers who are there in such numbers can well be excluded altogether especially when, having been long years resident in the Colony and having property there, they are genuine citizens. YY. HH. inquire whether in the English colonies Dutchmen are admitted to the administration; the answer is yes, if they are naturalized. And do we not see Dutch families like the Bentincks, the Keppels and others even in the House of Lords? But, as I have already said, it is in my opinion better to keep them out of the government provided no partiality be shown, which might have evil results.

. . . . .

What increases my vexation is that I now see that the inhabitants of Demerara are acting openly and with a high hand, contrary to law and order, in that they are buying slaves from the English publicly and without the least reserve[1]. This is carried so far that one of them named

[1] See remarks on pp. 299, 300

Jan Blondel made bold to say to Capt. Pieter Stap, who at length arrived before this river in February: "What have you come here for? We don't want you; we can get slaves enough from the English. Here is a boy who cost me only two hundred guilders."

As this practice is becoming common I am at my wits' end and know not what to do. Mild measures are useless and violent ones I dare not employ in a case which is so general, nor am I in a fit state to do so.

P.R.O. 475/42

April 3, 1770.

(Extract)

During my stay in Demerara I shall entrust the command and the superintendence of Your Honours' plantations to Commandant Backer[1] who is much more fitted for the latter duty than I; being young, strong and fairly well experienced he will manage matters better. Things do not go as I could wish and order must be kept with a strong hand; this I cannot do—my weak condition prevents it, and when I came to high words some four weeks ago with the manager of "Duynenburg" I had to pay for it later.

P.R.O. 475/50

Demerara, June 5, 1770.

(Extracts)

The second despatch, referring to the Honble. Co.'s missing books, has greatly surprised me. I have given it to the Commander to take to Essequibo, asking him to communicate its contents to Mr Trotz and to inform the latter that I shall not allow him to depart for Europe before

[1] See Note 5, p. 629.

he has fulfilled Your Honours' requirements[1]; in the event of receiving an unsatisfactory reply the Commander is to submit Your Honours' despatch to the Court on the 26th and invoke its authority in my name.

I have carefully perused the memorandum from Mr Moulion, the chief bookkeeper, appended to the said despatch, and am surprised that that gentleman did not add that it is the Director-General's duty to make up the books himself in the event of the absence, sickness or negligence of the clerks. When I was bookkeeper[2] from the year 1738 to 1742 I never failed to send over all the books each year and although I had never learnt book-keeping (as I had the honour to inform Your Honours' Chamber in October, 1737) the books were found to be in good and proper order by the then Chief Bookkeeper, Mr Satijn.

During the late Mr Spoors' long service, from 1742 to the time of his discharge, I never received any complaints. I do know that during the last years of his career he sometimes let the work get into arrears, for the books had to be brought to me; I did not fail to speak to him about it and seriously to admonish him to send them over, when I always got the answer, "It will be done in good time and, after all, it is I who am answerable for it."

. . . . .

Notwithstanding that some books and accounts were still wanting Mr Spoors obtained from YY. HH. his discharge, a seat in Court, double rations and the slaves which he had

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[1] George Hendrik Trotz was a Councillor of Justice in Essequibo and (according to the Registers) owner of two plantations in Demerara; he was a son-in-law of Adriaan Spoors, the former Secretary, and it was probably in his capacity as executor or heir to Spoors' estate that the above inhibition was laid upon him by the Director-General. He succeeded Storm in the Directorship in *1772*.

[2] It will be remembered that Storm was appointed Secretary and Bookkeeper (see p. 32. Cf. also Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 108).

always had. May I not with reason ask why YY. HH. (who are so hard upon me after a service of fully thirty-two years) did not before granting that gentleman his discharge so honourably and profitably, compel him to discharge his duty and to send in the missing books instead of requiring me to do the impossible?

The late Mr Rousselet having received no notes or figures concerning the above-mentioned books and having nothing to go by declared it to be impossible to make them up. I had the honour to inform YY. HH. of this; Mr Spoors was still alive, but all the efforts of Mr Rousselet and myself were in vain....

After Mr Rousselet's death I took up the work as far as I possibly could, although it was outside my department, entered up and sent over the pay and taxation books in good time, prepared the various lists, accounts, registers, &c., looked carefully into everything, tried to get in the bad debts, and, from the receipts exhibited to me, drew up lists of what Messrs Spoors and Rousselet owed the Company, so that YY. HH. at length did me the honour to write that it was surprising how I could do all that work. But, YY. HH., I was killing myself, working myself into the grave in spite of the warnings of my children and others that I was doing myself no good.

I find, alas! that those warnings were not without reason. Since January, 1769, I have been constantly ill and debilitated; this year I have been at Death's door, and still continually beset with fever and pains in my back. I expect to be soon released from all my burdens and worries, but the Lord's will be done and I submit to it with resignation.

But my honour (wherein I am so grievously attacked, as will be subsequently made clear) being dear to me, I cannot refrain (as long as the Lord shall grant me strength and support me) from defending the same (for which no one

will blame me) at all times and in all places where necessary, and justifying myself before YY. HH., before Their High Mightinesses and before His Serene Highness. That justification will give me no difficulty if the Lord but grant me, as hitherto, the power.

Hic tibi murus aheneus est
Nil conscire sibi nulla pallescere culpa[1].

. . . . .

I cannot, however, pass without remark Your Honours' comparison[2] of the Spanish rhodomontades with a snow-ball which gets bigger in its transmission to Europe, an observation which does me great honour but which, like so many others, I shall pocket until time and opportunity

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[1] Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 61. The correct reading is *Hic murus aheneus esto*....

[2] The Directors, on *Feb. 5, 1770*, had written as follows :—

"As regards the Spanish rhodomontades of which you speak in this letter of yours, of their desire to come and take possession of all the territory extending to the bank of Oene, which is situated on the west coast of Essequibo and below which there are several plantations, under pretext that it belongs to His Catholic Majesty, we believe that all those threats of the Spaniards increase in size, just like a rolling snow-ball, in proportion to the distance of their transmission hither, and that all their pretended enterprises against the Colony will disappear in smoke unless the Republic should become involved in a war with the Crown of Spain on some other side, of which, however, there is as yet little probability ; and it really is not necessary to be a very profound thinker in order to divine for what purpose the wanton acts of perhaps some few Spaniards had to be depicted and spread about as enterprises very dangerous to a Colony in a proper state of defence.

"We have repeatedly expressed to you our ideas on this subject, and we are more and more confirmed in those ideas which from the beginning we formed about this whole matter.

"Nevertheless, it remains true, *felix et prudens, qui tempore pacis de bello cogitet*; and therefore you have done very well in taking this opportunity to bring the whole corps of the militia of both rivers upon a better and more adequate footing ; the task will now be to keep it upon that good footing, which we commend to your good care while that shall last."

serve; it is but a fresh proof what great influence base written and verbal denunciations have had. Unhappy, yea, thrice unhappy the chief who is subjected to them.

. . . . . .

YY. HH. are pleased to say that this[1] has been made as clear as day by copies of bills of exchange given to English captains bearing the words "value received in slaves." I beg YY. HH. not to take it amiss if I ask why no copies of such bills have been sent me; I would then have ample proof in hand and could proceed against the drawers without difficulty. I should then be holding the thread and the next thing would be to follow it up; for these men must be made to smart, to inform against others and so reveal the whole business.

. . . . . .

In Your Honours' letter I find yet another sentence which would appear on the surface to be meant for me. YY. HH. are pleased to say that despotic treatment, etc., will have to be stopped. Is anyone in the world a greater enemy of despotic treatment than I? Did not His Late Serene Highness of laudable memory, upon my departure, and did not Your Honours' Assembly frequently reproach me for my goodness and great leniency in these very words, "Too good is mad"?

But, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, I will pass by and make an end of all this. I see and learn from Your Honours' letters how greatly YY. HH. are displeased with me—for no reason, I may conscientiously add. After a faithful service of more than thirty-two years, after all my zeal and industry for the Honble. Company and the

[1] The importation of slaves into the Colony by other than Zeeland traders. This smuggling, unavoidable, as shown in Storm's letter of *December 9, 1767* (see p. 561), was evidently at the bottom of the Directors' ill-feeling betrayed in earlier portions of their despatch. Cf. remarks on pp. 299, 300.

Colony, after toiling, moiling and worrying myself to death in order to put everything right that the former secretaries had neglected, after going beyond my province in making up the books, compiling the Registers, examining accounts, lists and receipts to ascertain what monies received by Messrs Spoors and Rousselet were due to the Company—after having, in a word, done everything in my power, my duty and more than my duty, is this my reward? *O tempora, O mores!* Had I, could I have, expected this? Never, Your Honours....

[*After reporting a variety of business matters Storm proceeds as follows:*]

It was my desire to write much more and in greater detail, but strength fails me[1], broken, as I am, by grief and vexations. These assail me from all sides, although I heed but little any that come not from YY. HH., for the others are easy to deal with; their authors stand forth and I have to fight no shadows, as is not the case with Your Honours' charges[2].

Cicero in his *Paradoxa* aptly says:

Sed nihil est tam incredibile quod non dicendo fiat probabile, nihil tam horridum, tam incultum quod non splendescat oratione et tamquam excolatur[3].

The opening note of the final episode in Storm's administration is heard in the first words of the two following despatches.

The colonists' harsh treatment of their slaves, added to the dearth of rations, forced the blacks to desertion, and to

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[1] In the earlier portion of this despatch Storm mentions having been obliged to preside at a Court Meeting whilst lying in his hammock.

[2] See pp. 633 and 636.

[3] *Prooemium*, § 3.

prevent this the aid of the Indians had to be invoked, since the garrison, in spite of Storm's repeated entreaties, was always too weak.

It is interesting and inspiring to observe how, notwithstanding his infirmities, Storm rose to the occasion when, nearly two years later[1]*, desertion developed into revolt and how, with a soldier's soul, he ended his career—fighting.*

P.R.O. 475/88

Demerara, November 24, 1770.

(Extracts)

As cases of desertion are now becoming so frequent I find myself obliged to seek some remedy for this state of things, and therefore wrote to the Postholder of Arinda on the 3rd of September to ask the Carib Owls in my name to send a detachment of fifty men of their nation here to keep a watchful eye upon the plantations. If they accede to this request I hope to make a clean sweep. I have offered a reward of 250 guilders to whomsoever shall bring back alive the negro Tower Hill, who is still at large, and 100 guilders to whomsoever shall bring him back dead.

. . . . .

In the English islands no one may upon his own authority give a slave more than forty lashes and so, to keep on the safe side, no one ever gives more than thirty-nine; it is true that this may be done two days running, but what is that compared with what goes on here?

We have no laws concerning the matter (at least none is known to me) and when I remonstrate I am told that everyone is master of his own slaves and that as long as he does not kill them (i.e. if they but come from the stocks alive) it is no business of the Fiscal's.

At the last committee meeting one of the burgher

[1] In *August, 1772*. See pp. 664 *et seq.*

officers reported that an English barque from St Christopher, belonging to A. Somersall[1], had brought 37 slaves, whereupon I sent a guard aboard the vessel and had the merchant arrested and brought before the Court.

YY. HH. would scarcely believe what a commotion this has caused in the River and how they are running about to collect all sorts of evidence. Mr Heyliger was down at John Bermingham's place deliberating with him for three days.

A certain gentleman came here to grease my palm, offering me six thousand guilders[2]; this I refused.

P.R.O. 475/103

Demerara, January, 1771.

(Extracts)

Great embarrassment is caused by the long delayed arrival of the vessels; there is a dearth of everything. All the warehouses (both those of the Honble. Co. and those of private planters) are empty and were it not for some North Americans who have run in it would be a bad look-out. I have to have my hand constantly in my pocket and buy from the English both for the plantations and for the warehouse, to which I object very much, as this is not profitable for the Honble. Company. For YY. HH. can well imagine that our needs being general and such not unknown to those fine gentlemen they put up the price.

It is indeed more than high time, YY. HH., that strong

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[1] In *1767*, too, there had been trouble about some slaves belonging to this planter (see pp. 559 *et seq.*).

[2] This might have been a somewhat tempting offer to a less conscientious man for passing a few urgently needed slaves when it is borne in mind that the Directors presented Storm's daughter with 600 guilders in full compensation after her husband had laid down his life in the Company's service (see pp. 452–454).

measures were taken to check the smuggling trade in slaves, for matters are going too far....Not a week passes without foreign slaves coming in, so I hear. Only last week two barques were off the river and Capt. Steevense told me that he not only saw them but that he had been on board of them and had seen the slaves.

I fear this will have the most fatal consequences for the Colony, for in addition to the loss in dues sustained by the Company and the blow dealt to the Zeeland trade it will indubitably lead to the ruin of many colonists, even if no worse results ensue[1].

. . . . . .

I can do nothing more, except with the pen, and that but very defectively and almost illegibly[2]. I am pretty deaf and can only hear when people speak very loudly, wherefore my presence in Court is not of the least use, whilst it is moreover very troublesome for the members present to repeat all that is said in a loud and distinct voice. My memory, too, is beginning to fail me and I myself am getting weaker daily. If I am well for a day there follows a week's indisposition and as I write I am much incommoded by my old complaint—the dropping of my uvula.

P.R.O. 475/108

Demerara, March 8, 1771.

(Extracts)

The Postholder of Arinda having been ill and confined to his bed for four months has come down with over fifty Caribs, and on the 1st of this month went into the woods

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[1] Cf. remarks on pp. 299, 300.

[2] For some twelve months prior to this the despatches are, indeed (with the exception of a few very short ones), not in Storm's handwriting, though signed by him.

behind the plantations with those men to look for the runaways. I hope this expedition will be successful, because if they succeed this will certainly intimidate the negroes from running away in future when they find that they are not safe even in the thickest bushes. I have had a good deal of trouble with the Carib Owls (one of whom was the leader of the expedition against the rebels in Berbice), because they spoke only of killing, and with a great deal of trouble and promises of double payment I got them to undertake to catch the runaways and bring them back alive.

. . . . . .

The body of a free Indian has been found floating in the Upper Demerara bearing distinctly the marks of blows and of the ropes by which the hands and feet had been tied. Every possible inquiry is being made to discover the author of the crime, but I fear it will be very difficult, for the insolent drunkards living up there will not lightly inform against each other; it is therefore no wonder that most of the Indians have departed and gone to the Corentin, there being scarcely any left up the river.

People have done themselves considerable harm by this treatment, for in addition to the great advantages gained from their work (as hired labourers) little would have been heard of negroes deserting had the Indians been well and kindly dealt with. No negro can get further than three hours' march behind our plantation "Soestdijk" without being caught and brought back by the Indians; only recently five were so restored.

P.R.O. 475/110

Demerara, March 23, 1771.

(Extract)

I have at last discovered why I get no complaints concerning the bills of exchange protested by the English; the latter make little fuss but get the drawers to give them fresh bills increased by the accommodation charges, etc. In this way the planters will be irretrievably ruined, for if this happen but some three times the original amount is already doubled. The smuggling, however, goes on as hard as ever; my son, who had been down stream yesterday to collect some money, told me that barques were constantly seen out at sea tacking to and fro before the river mouth[1].

P.R.O. 475/116

Demerara, March 30, 1771.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

The great dearth and the absolutely empty state of the Company's warehouse have compelled me to purchase from Captain Kent what is necessary. It is fortunate that some North Americans put in, otherwise I should have been at my wits' end. I have therefore been obliged to take from him for the warehouse and for the Company's plantations that for which I have the honour to enclose his own account; to balance this I have drawn upon YY. HH. for f. 1509, which bill I doubt not YY. HH. will be good enough to honour. By the next vessel I hope to send YY. HH. an account of the further outlay incurred by me.

I have the honour to be with deep respect and esteem,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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[1] Cf. remarks on pp. 299, 300.

P.R.O. 475/119

June 21, 1771.

(Extracts)

It was my firm intention to be in Essequibo long before April[1] but *l'homme propose et Dieu dispose.* For six weeks I was uninterruptedly and without the slightest intermission beset by acute fever and by such pain in my loins that I could only walk doubled up and with the aid of a stick; in addition to this, my eldest daughter lay between life and death for 28 days. I could not therefore be expected to undertake the journey, especially as the surgeon of the plantation and Doctor St Felix, a very skilful man in the employ of Baron van Grovestins, told me I would probably endanger my life by going upon the water; all this was fully known to the Councillors[2]. In spite of all this, the fever having abated but not yet quite gone, I resolved, contrary to all advice, to set out, since my presence was absolutely required in Essequibo. I had, too, the Lord be praised, an extremely good journey, having left "Soestdijk" at a quarter before three in the morning[3] and arriving at Fort Zeelandia before three in the afternoon.

. . . . .

Had we the good fortune to have but one or two sensible, impartial and unprejudiced members of Your Honours' body here they would soon be convinced that as matters go on here it is perfectly impossible for an honourable, honest and conscientious man to fill my post to his own satisfaction.

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[1] It will be noted that Storm's despatches had since *June, 1770,* all been written from Demerara.

[2] On the preceding page Storm had reported that the Court had refused to sit on *April 8* in his absence, though, as he points out, the presidency should and could very properly have been taken by the senior Councillor present.

[3] Three hours before sunrise.

Since the question of free navigation to this Colony is now settled[1] and my hands are untied I would not neglect to take the liberty of writing to His Serene Highness—not a short epistle but a volume—concerning the state of affairs here, which up to now I have carefully avoided doing, but alas! though the spirit is willing, strength fails me.

. . . . . .

The importation of foreign slaves does not stop. I have often had the honour of writing about this and of suggesting the only possible means of preventing it efficaciously. Such is impossible for the Commander or myself, as matters stand now; when I hear of it, it is either too late or proper and sufficient proofs are wanting[2].

. . . . . .

[*As a sequence to some remarks bewailing the loss, to the Court and to the Colony, of three of his best Councillors Storm goes on to say:*]

Take it not amiss, YY. HH., I pray, if I, not daring to hope for a much longer life, speak outright, and permit me, Your Honours' oldest servant (so I believe) to pour out his heart, possibly (the Lord knows) for the last time.

I have the good fortune, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, to come of a family which has sat, from father to son, in the councils of the city of Delft since the year 1300, as well as for a long time in those of Gouda, where the last Gerard Storm, Heer van Hoogeveen, died as burgomaster in the year 1751[3].

Having always acted in keeping with the traditional Dutch outspokenness (ever, too, the boast of the Zeelanders, whence the saying *Goed rond goed Zeeuwsch*[4]), having always during my full seventeen years of military service gone straightforwardly to work and never been afraid to

[1] See pp. 143–145. [2] Cf. remarks on pp. 299, 300.
[3] For a full account of Storm's forbears see pp. 28–31.
[4] See p. 429.

tell my chiefs the truth outright and, though with due respect, without circumlocution, I thereby gained their esteem and have still by me the letter wherein my old Colonel, Generaal van Pallandt[1], then 82 years of age, did me the honour to write (upon my informing His Excellency of my intention to go to Essequibo and thanking him for all the benefits conferred on me) that he was very pleased indeed to hear of my advancement but that he was at the same time sorry to lose one of his best officers.

His Late Serene Highness[2], of laudable memory, having been good enough to take the trouble to read all my letters to YY. HH., also did me the honour to say[3] "You are still the old Storm van 's Gravesande—*Jan Regtuyt*[4]" (alluding to the affair concerning H. S. H. which I had had 20 years before with my stepmother's father, Burgomaster van Bronkhorst[5], in Utrecht, where H. S. H. was then studying, and which cost me my promotion[6]), adding, "had you stayed here you would now be one of our generals."

What is the Colony now compared with what it was twenty years ago? What has become of the unity and sincerity of those days? As long as I was Secretary, and long after, YY. HH. never wrote a single letter to anyone but the Commander and never even answered one of mine

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[1] Johan Werner van Pallandt, Heer van Eerde en Beerse, a general of infantry and some time Governor of Tournai and Breda. He died *Oct. 14, 1741*. Van der Aa (*Biographisch Woordenboek*) does not give the date of his birth, which may, however, be fixed by Storm's statement, which refers to his own appointment in *1737*.

[2] William IV, Prince of Orange (cf. p. 37).

[3] This must have been in *1750* or *1751*, during Storm's visit home. (Cf. p. 278.)

[4] "Straightforward John."

[5] From Rietstap (*Heraldieke Bibliotheek, 1873*, p. 132) we learn that Storm's father married for the second time on *July 27, 1713*, Ernestine Henriette, a daughter of Adriaan van Bronkhorst, burgomaster of Utrecht.

[6] In *1730* or *1731*.

except addressed to the Commander and Secretary[1]. I may boast that although in those days I got no direct reply to my letters no proposal that I took the liberty to make was ever rejected.

Demerara was begun under my administration. What trouble did I not take, what fatigue did I not endure to make it prosper, and what opposition did I not have to fight! This is well known to YY. HH. and even better than to me. Now that it comprises not far from 200 plantations what reward have I for my labour? The base ingratitude of many of the planters, misled and incited by enemies who really deserve naught but my contempt and that of all honest men. But, YY. HH., in spite of that, I can safely rely upon all the inhabitants. Let them be asked, man for man, whether I have wronged, oppressed or mulcted them; it will be my shame if but one can say and prove it—except, perhaps, two or three of my bitterest enemies who might say so, but to prove it would be another matter.

. . . . .

Economy is laudable and most necessary; that is perfectly true, but what is called economy is not always so and in order to ingratiate themselves with YY. HH. people have dished up many untruths that are now beginning to bear evil consequences; for instance, the brick factory and many other things which I pass over from expediency and because what is done cannot be undone. But I, a weak old man, must now bear the burden—not the blame, which cannot be imputed to me, as I can prove clear as daylight by Your Honours' and my own letters and the course I pursued—but the burden of gradually putting things into order again.

. . . . .

[1] An example of the practice Storm alludes to may be seen on p. 196.

The Court of Policy sat on the 25th of May, when about sixty Petitions were presented for grants of land. No decision could be come to concerning the majority of these, because the Court did not know how far it was possible to accede to them; they have, however, been placed in the hands of one of the surveyors, who is to report to the Court, whereupon some decision will be arrived at.

At this meeting were also read the several letters from YY. HH., in which orders are given to grant tracts of land in the creek of Maheyka, which surprises us very much.

It is some time now since the Court of Policy came to the resolve not to make any grants of land in the creek Maheyka until the sea-coast on the east side of Demerary was populated.

. . . . .

Maheyka being situated full seven hours from Demerary, the Court thought that if land were granted there, the planters would be too far beyond the reach of the Government, and would be able to do as they liked without the least fear of being pursued, which could only lead to very bad results, and this is the reason of the Resolution which Your Honours will find in the last Protocols of the Court of Policy sent over.

. . . . .

After a long account concerning Court business, the large number of protested bills of exchange and the imminent failure of many planters, Storm proceeds as follows.

Be pleased to consider, YY. HH., in what condition I must be, not only through sitting so long in Court in this chaos of business, but having besides, from the moment I leave my room at half-past five in the morning until the evening, to listen to so many people who come to talk to me of their affairs; I am, needless to say, quite dazed and hardly know what to do or where to begin. I must

succumb, for I cannot go on. It seems as if the saying of the Emperor Vespasian (to compare great things with small) were about to fit me—*Decet imperatorem stantem mori.*

P.R.O. 475/123

June 21, 1771[1].

(Extract)

Although now fully thirty-three years in this Colony (with the exception of 1750 and 1751, when I was in Europe) I have never experienced such a time as the present. Everything seems to be in a turmoil and there is not a moment's rest. Court-meeting after meeting, and these so tedious and wearisome as to be unendurable.

The offices of secretary, bookkeeper, receiver of dues and taxes and sales-master having now been vacant for four years, everything rests upon my weak shoulders; to this is now added the Commandership of Demerara[2], which, although filled, like the secretaryship, *ad interim*, still really falls on me since I am absolutely compelled to superintend everything, else little or naught would be properly done.

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[1] Very frequently several letters were despatched by the same vessel (cf. date on p. 643).

[2] In his earlier despatch of the same date Storm stated (it has not been deemed necessary to give the extract) that in accordance with the Directors' instructions dated *December 24, 1770*, he had (on *April 3, 1771*, see P.R.O. 475/111) discharged van den Heuvel to the great joy of the latter, though this joy had been almost immediately tempered by the loss of the ex-Commander's wife, Storm's eldest daughter (see p. 49).

P.R.O. 475/132

July 12, 1771.

(Extract)

It is now eighteen months ago since we received the last goods for the slaves, etc., by "De Swerver," Capt. Plutman, which arrived here at the beginning of January, 1770. This discourages both the employees and slaves and I am compelled to listen to complaints and entreaties on the one hand and to put up with the derision of the planters on the other.

Where are the times when a managership being vacant there were ten or twelve applicants? Now I almost have to look for one, when needed, myself, but I will not dilate upon that now.

Where are the old times, YY. HH., when the Company's higher officials and the Managers annually received everything (and more than they could use) for their households —tin plates, dishes, serviettes, tablecloths, candlesticks, earthenware, etc.? I remember getting all this myself.

Concerning the state of the Colony and some dealings in relation therewith it is best for me to be silent; what should I gain by creating more enemies for the short time that in all probability I have still to live?

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit[1].

So long as private or self-interest has absolute rule and the Company's and Colony's welfare is not considered nothing good is to be expected. The Lord knows how sincere were my intentions and all my weak endeavours, even in the face of strong opposition, to promote the welfare and interests of the Honble. Co. and the growth of the Colony. In despair I must at length give it up; old, weak and always ill, I cannot go on. How will things go, Your Honours, when it pleases the Almighty to take me to Him?

[1] Terence, *And.* I. i. 41.

Commander van den Heuvel is out of the service, Changuion[1] is in Europe, and Commandant Backer (next in seniority to the Commander) quite unwilling, I think, to take command *ad interim*, having already resigned as Councillor of Justice and valuer and only remaining in service out of compassion with and in order to help me.

Sat patriæ Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent[2].

Ah, could I but say at the end of my days:

Ah, cachons nous, passons avec les sages
Le soir serein d'un jour melé d'orages,
Et dérobons à l'œil de l'envieux
Le peu de temps que me laissent les dieux.

P.R.O. 475/138

August 27, 1771.

(Extracts)

It grieves me very much that not being in a fit state properly to discharge my duties I am still compelled *nolens volens* to remain at the head of affairs, and that by doing as much as possible I do more than I really can and so kill myself. Would that YY. HH. might follow the doctrine of Horace, who says:

Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat[3],

as I have followed that of Virgil,

Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis, aut jam segnior annis,
Deficit, abde domo[4].

. . . . .

[1] From this and Storm's remark on p. 648, Changuion would appear to have been appointed Commander *ad interim* of Demerara; Netscher does not include his name in his list of Commanders, but has a gap in the post from *Dec. 1770* to *July 1772* (*Op. cit.* p. 328).

[2] Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 291.

[3] Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 9.

[4] Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 96.

I ought to be in Demerara, but cannot. The critical events that are occurring there are causing the loss of van den Heuvel to be deplored and that, too, openly, by the very people who were opposed to him. I feel his loss most, but what is to be done? *Non omnia possumus omnes.* So it will also be when I am gone. I am quite convinced they will often say, "Would that our old Governor were still with us!"

van den Heuvel has his faults, but who has not, Your Honours?

Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgetur[1].

He did his duty as far as lay in his power and would possibly have done more had not he, like me, lost courage through the opposition and all the intrigues of our foes, who have caused me so much undeserved pain....

. . . . . .

Tidings come from Amsterdam that a considerable number of protested bills will be sent back by the next vessel. What will happen then? I see no way out of it. I have still several by me for which I cannot obtain payment without ruining the drawers. Others having patience with the latter I cannot bring myself to be harder than they, especially since amongst these there are several who are themselves in difficulties.

. . . . . .[2]

Besides the current sales, payment for which is not yet due, I have much more than thirty thousand guilders owing to me, and this frequently causes me difficulty. But patience! I hope it will come in gradually, if not to me, then to my children.

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[1] Horace, *Satirae*, I. iii. 68.

[2] For the intervening passage see the second extract on p. 55.

Leaving this matter I will proceed with my report as far as possible.

On Your Honours' plantations everything is, thank God, going on well. If only we could get more cattle and a reinforcement of slaves for "Achterkerke" and "Luyxbergen"! I dare not do as I would herein, however necessary it be, since economy has been so impressed upon me.

. . . . .

There is now great lack of everything both at the Fort and on Your Honours' plantations, it being nineteen months since we received the last provisions and trading-wares. I have not even a flag to hoist over the Fort; at the last execution I had to borrow one from Capt. Deneke and on the 7th, the anniversary of H. R. H.'s[1] birthday, one from van Kakom, whose vessel is the only one now lying before the Fort.

. . . . .

I have now a deal of worry concerning protested bills—one application after another for execution. All those emanating from strangers I refuse and refer to the Court, but that will not last very long and at the next meeting a number of petitions on this matter will be presented; at the last meeting execution was granted in two cases at the instance of colonists. The Court acts with great reluctance in this business and for very good reasons, for were it more precipitate the Colony would be quite ruined; the downfall of one would drag many others after it—it is quite a concatenation. For instance, P. Halley holds protested bills drawn by J. Daly, John Bermingham has some drawn by P. Halley, the latter again some drawn by Vincent Barre; if execution is granted against P. Halley, he must

[1] Princess Fredrica Sophia Wilhelmina, consort of William V, Prince of Orange, born *August 7, 1747*.

apply for the same against J. Daly and V. Barre. It is impossible for me to give YY. HH. a good and sufficient idea of all this, but in the end it will have to bend or break; if no change comes things will be in a wretched state. If there be no credit there will be no buyers, therefore the drawers as well as the holders of bills will be ruined. I foresaw and foretold all this clearly and plainly, but mine was the fate of Cassandra, who was given the power to prophesy but destined never to be believed.

. . . . .

I am being greatly worried by a person from St Christopher who has a large number of protested bills and is applying for execution. I referred him to the Court but it being too long for him to wait until October 7, the date of the ordinary meeting, he asked for a special meeting, whereupon I told him this would cost him 500 guilders, to be deposited beforehand in the Secretary's office. He said, "I must have my money, even if I have to pay 1500 guilders." But things have remained at that and he has made no further application. What the Councillors will decree in this matter is still unknown to me, but personally I am absolutely opposed to a grant of execution; all his bills are the result of illicit trade in smuggled slaves[1]. Moreover I am told that he sold good, bad and indifferent, all at a handsome profit. These fine gentlemen must be taught a lesson and this would be the most efficacious means of checking them in that illicit trade. I shall delay the special meeting as long as I can, but if he persists in having it I must convoke it, though I hope it will be of no use to him. It is my opinion, *salvo meliori*, that if any complaints were made to Their High Mightinesses concerning the matter (though I do not expect it) justification would be found for not allowing the Colony to be ruined

[1] Cf. remarks on pp. 299, 300.

and overturned for the sake of an illicit trade carried on in violation of the Company's Charter and Your Honours' oft repeated orders, and rendered more odious by the practice of bills being renewed two and even three times (possibly oftener) with an increment of 25 per cent.

. . . . .

The throwing open of Pomeroon would certainly result in the downfall of Essequibo and Demerary, and the opening would only be to the advantage of the English, who would come there in crowds for the fine timber that is there, and not for the purpose of laying out proper plantations. The Company would therefore derive no profit from this, but it would be absolutely harmful, and if that river were at any time thrown open, with a strict provision that no timber might be exported, we should have very few or possibly no applications for land there[1].

P.R.O. 475/149

September 15, 1771.

(Extract)

Now, Your Honours, we are not only without provisions (that would be the least) but without trading wares, linen or tools for the slaves; there is not a nail left to fasten anything with or to nail up the sugar casks—we are without a thing. How can this go on, YY. HH.? To buy would be contrary to the economy so impressed upon me, for I should have to pay an increase of at least 50 if not 100 % upon everything.

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[1] See p. 352.

P.R.O. 475/166

November 12, 1771.

(Extracts)

I now come to that clause in Your Honours' letter which has grieved me to my soul. Is this the reward, YY. HH., for my thirty-four years' service—to be told I am a rogue? This is not in Your Honours' letter *totidem verbis* but *totidem sensu.*

I call Omniscient God to witness that I have done all in my power to further the interests of the Company and Colony. I may have made mistakes—*errare humanum*—but have never wittingly cheated the Company or the Colony out of a farthing...

That Your Honours' slaves have been for long periods without rations is perfectly true—often for six months in the year, with intervals—and the number of Your Honours' slaves who get or ought to get rations is 600 without counting children. Three pounds of fish every fortnight for these 600 slaves amounts to 48,000 lbs., and this does not suffice, for the children must have at least their bit too. Whenever was, not 48,000 lbs., but even the half of that purchased in one year, including the stockfish which YY. HH. send? Where then, Your Honours, is the bad and unjustifiable management, how can there be suspicions concerning honesty, attention and economy?

I imagine—possibly I am mistaken but would gladly be put right—I imagine that the Honble. Co. is bound to keep me in household supplies in a proper (by no means luxurious) manner; how often, through lack of everything, have I not to pay for my beer, oil, vinegar, soap, candles, etc., out of my own pocket? Have I debited YY. HH. with this? It would amount to a pretty considerable sum if I were to reckon it all up, and I can assure YY. HH. that if the salesmastership had not supported me I should be up

to my ears in debt. I even have to provide the guard in the Fort with candles of my own.

. . . . .

Your Honours have, it seems to me, taken not the least notice of what I wrote concerning the horses and mules required for the Company's plantations, for YY. HH. stick strictly to the old text. Whilst on this subject I will make bold to dilate briefly upon the said plantations.

All the mills there are in perfectly good order, cane so abundant that if any mills in the neighbourhood offered to fetch and crush half of it I should not hesitate to let them do so, it being quite impossible for the managers to get through it.

If they had the animals they could be constantly crushing and yield as much sugar as any plantation of the same size in the Colony, but there would have to be no lack of anything. The manager of "Achterkerk" has been obliged to let these two excellent equinoctial spring tides pass without crushing because he has not a drop of oil and there is none to be got in the whole Colony; the manager of "Duynenburg" got A. Zeagers to lend him a canful—for the rest there is a dearth of everything.

If YY. HH. will be good enough to give the plantations a chance to do so, the plantations will yield as well as any in the Colony. Now necessity compels me to purchase horses and mules or allow the cane to rot. I hope Capt. Holmes, of whom I have ordered 20 horses, will soon come in, and I shall also buy mules, even up to 300 guilders a piece, which until now I have not dared to do.

On one of the plantations things might, it is true, be better, and concerning this I administered some sharp reproofs only last week, but what am I to do, YY. HH.? Other good managers are not to be got; a manager on a good private plantation earns at least 600 guilders a year. van den Heuvel gives his manager 1000 guilders and there

are others who earn even more; what competent man will then enter the Company's service? They are as averse now as they were formerly glad to do so....

The increase in the salary of the Commander *ad interim* of Demerara was made, as usual in such cases, subject to Your Honours' approval; I communicated Your Honours' orders to him and received the following reply.'

"I am obliged to Your Excellency for the intimation of what Their Honours write. I could never have imagined that TT. HH. would have disapproved of the increase granted me by Your Excellency, especially as I undertook the office against my will. I might regard it as a means of taking my discharge, for what have I left after paying my clerk 25 guilders a month? Not more than 3½ guilders—a fine salary for one who has to be in command and to discharge an assistant's duties too!"

P.R.O. 476/1

November 30, 1771.

(Extracts)

Lack of provisions has never been greater; no North Americans come, the protested bills having frightened them away. I think that if one ran in now she would be able to sell her salt fish at sixpence a pound.

On November 2, ration day, I was in the greatest difficulty, for there was not an atom of meal in the warehouse, none coming in now from the English. To my great good fortune there were a few casks in J. Vlees-houwer's warehouse, half spoilt and full of ants, and these I was obliged to take at 14 doits[1] a pound together with 15 casks from J. Patterson.

. . . . .

[1] A doit was equal to about an eighth of an English penny.

After Capt. Stuurlinck's letter-bag was closed it came to my ears that a petition signed by a very large number of planters had been sent over to H. S. H. in order to procure free navigation for Amsterdam ships. This was carefully concealed from me for some weeks after despatch the signatories not trusting me and fearing that I would have tried to oppose it as much as possible. Is it not strange, YY. HH., that in Zeeland I am suspected of being in favour of Amsterdam and here of quite the opposite[1]?...

The lack of credit, the protested bills, etc. drive many to despair and they imagine that by some such change credit will be restored and they themselves set up again.

Turba per extremas semper Bacchata vagatur
Et medias nescit carpere tuta vias[2].

. . . . . .

When I had written as far as this Capt. Ledyard arrived in Demerara from North America bringing all kinds of provisions, twelve horses and six mules. I should certainly have bought some 25 casks of flour from him for the rations had he not told me that a three-masted vessel had anchored before Demerara; feeling certain that this was Capt. Different I let him go and ordered only ten casks of flour and four of cod, taking it for granted that Different would have brought at least some meal. But his letter-bag arriving two days later I found to my great astonishment on reading Your Honours' most esteemed letter that this vessel had again brought nothing for the Company. What is to happen, Your Honours? For myself it does not matter; I buy what I want and pay for it out of my pocket. But the other officials, the slaves, the plantations —what is to become of them? If it please YY. HH. to let the plantations fall rapidly back I wash my hands of the matter and leave it to Providence.

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[1] See pp. 143–145.

[2] See p. 569, Note 1.

P.R.O. 476/23

May 15, 1772.

(Extracts)

Since my term of office is approaching its end I consider myself compelled to lay before YY. HH. what is in my mind without circumlocution, as has always been my wont.

If everything were properly regulated and put into due order the Colony would, under the Lord's blessing, soon equal if not surpass Surinam. There is no colony in the West Indies where there is so much work and industry. When one returns to Demerara after a year's absence one is astonished at the progress that has been made.

The pioneers, who worked vigorously, allow themselves to be misled by clever rogues now that the worst part is over. So it is

Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes[1].

. . . . .

I do not know whether it is true, but I have been told that some Jews have applied to YY. HH. for permission to settle here. If this be so and they get permission I would put them all above the first fall in Essequibo, called the Mangue Fall[2]. They would be a bit out of the way there and have excellent land[3]. Some years ago Moses Isaakse de Vries, a Jew from Surinam, laid out a plantation there and brought down to A. Pieterse, the manager of Oosterbeek, cane fifteen feet long, as thick as a man's arm and yielding excellent sugar; only one piece of

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[1] See p. 355.

[2] The narrows of the Essequibo just below the first fall are known (*teste* Sir E. F. im Thurn) as the Monkey Jump. Which is the earlier form—mangue or monkey—cannot be determined.

[3] See Note 2, p. 211.

cane at a time could be put through the mill. Picterse, a creole and formerly himself a planter, told me he had never seen anything like it. He desired to go up there himself to lay out a plantation, but refrained from doing so at the entreaty of his relatives and went to Demerara instead, where he laid out the first plantation, now called St Jan. Moses Isaakse de Vries having died, the beginning made up there has not yet been carried further.

P.R.O. 476/149

July 14, 1772.

(Extracts)

Many applicants allow their land to lie idle and do not bother about it; others who seem to desire to keep it refuse to pay the surveyors on delivery of the chart, though they do not fail to complain to VV. HH. if their land is declared to be forfeited and transferred to others.

It is urgently necessary, VV. HH., both for the interests of the Honble. Co. and for the welfare and progress of the Colony that the law be strictly adhered to which enacts that allotted lands must be worked within a year and six weeks on pain of being declared forfeited, except in a few special cases when the Court for good reasons grants dispensation for a single occasion and a stipulated time.

. . . . .

It is related here that a new Governor has arrived in Orinoco. Should that be true, I hope that he will not be such a Turk as his predecessor. With the latter there was not the least chance of getting anything out of Orinoco, and he even forbade the usual salting in the mouth of the river, and set a strong watch to prevent it. If the present one shows a little more tractability, as the former ones did, I will soon take advantage of it; there must now be

abundance of cattle there. The English no longer bring either horses or mules and very little provisions, the cause of this being the protested bills.

. . . . . .

The English who bring provisions absolutely refuse to deliver anything without payment in cash or kind, bills they will not take. What will the result of this be?

. . . . . .

Mr Gedney Clarke has sold all his property in our Colony to one J. Hassley, whose property in Tabago he has acquired.

It is pleasant to observe that one of Storm's last official acts here chronicled was in protection of the free Indian and the slave.

P.R.O. 476/150

August 27, 1772.

(Extracts)

Principiis obsta sero medicina paratur[1]. In spite of my efforts and warnings I have up to now been able to do little in the way of bettering the treatment meted out to free Indians and of stopping the ill-treatment of slaves. The sad condition of Surinam has at length opened the colonists' eyes and important resolutions relating thereto have been passed, as YY. HH. will see from the proclamations.

F. W. Gerds, accused by a free Arawak, who exhibited in Court the marks of a whipping, was brought from his plantation, and after having been confined in the lock-up for 24 hours was heavily fined and ordered to give the Indian fifty guilders' worth of goods; after this the doors

[1] Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 91.

were thrown open and the public was admitted, whereupon the accused was, in the hearing of all present, very severely reprimanded both for his ill conduct towards the Indians and for his barbarous treatment of his slaves, being told that the next time such a charge was again proved against him he would be punished not by a fine, but corporally.

. . . . .

The dearth of provisions in the Upper Demerara is grievous, especially for the slaves. Wisdom has been the dupe of cupidity[1]. In order to obtain big yields only coffee and other produce was planted, no thought being given to the laying out of provision gardens, nor were the slaves allowed their customary Saturdays off[2]. Even when the English bring things, they will not give them without immediate payment; they will not take bills any more and no contracts exist. If therefore the colonists wish to keep themselves and their slaves from starving they are obliged to pay in kind. Hunger is a sharp sword[3], Your Honours.

. . . . .

Planters who are well stocked are unwilling to sell, because they can get no payment; bills are not accepted, since, however well backed, they cannot be cashed. I have a whole drawerful that I have been obliged to take in payment of small sales, and I would give the lot for half the amount in cash.

. . . . .

Very many plantations having been laid out on the west coast of this river, Bouwman, the surveyor, who measured all those plantations, has at my request made a chart of that coast as far as Pomeroon and the Post of Maroco. From the actual mouth of the Essequibo to the

[1] *De gierigheid heeft de wijsheid bedrogen.*

[2] On which days they had been wont to cultivate their own provision (*cassava*) gardens.

[3] *Honger is een scherp sweerd.*

creek Hamalte[1] there are twenty-seven plantations; from there to Mana Caboera there are about six thousand roods, and from Mana Caboera to the mouth of Bowaron Ollira there are nine thousand roods (taken up), so that we are beginning to get close to Pomeroon and shall therefore have to cease making fresh grants of ground in that direction.

What astonished me most, YY. HH., was to see in these exact plans the situation of the Post in Maroco; I could never have imagined that it lay so far up the creek from the sea-coast. It lies upon and fully commands the inland road through the itabos[2], which is used by the inhabitants and the Spaniards as the safest, but it is absolutely useless as far as regards the runaway slaves, who pass along the coast by water, that being just beyond the reach of the Post.

From this we see how little reliance is to be placed upon all the verbal reports of the Postholders, the latter having their own reasons for keeping up the deception, and I therefore believe that the visit of the surveyor was not very agreeable to them.

Bouwman has sent me the new sketch, but I will make a neat copy of it, which I hope to have the honour of sending YY. HH.

In the best chart of South America by M. d'Anville, the Post of Maroco is also wrongly placed in accordance with the aforesaid inaccurate information.

. . . . . .

It grieved me to my soul to learn of Your Honours' displeasure concerning my letter by "D'Anna Catharina," Capt. Stuurlink; it never was and never shall be my intention to be wanting in the respect I owe YY. HH. If I have

[1] This creek is apparently not marked on any map, either contemporary or later.

[2] *Itabo* is an Indian name for a waterway connecting two rivers, or two points on the same river, generally made by the passage of boats through intervening swampy ground. Cf. pp. 322 and 468.

expressed myself somewhat too emphatically upon some points I humbly apologize for it. But, YY. HH., an old tree cannot be transplanted without danger nor yet bent. YY. HH. are aware that as long as I have had the honour to serve YY. HH. it has always been my wont to come straightforwardly to the point, without circumlocution, frank as a Zeelander. I have often been fairly emphatic in my letters and such was never taken amiss by YY. HH.; on the contrary, when I apologized for it YY. HH. on two occasions were good enough to reply that far from taking it amiss YY. HH. desired me to continue to be so outspoken, but *tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis*[1].

. . . . .

[2]At 11 o'clock on the morning of the 13th of this month I received a letter from the Captain-Lieutenant Bode, containing the bad news that during the previous night the slaves of P. C. Hoofd had revolted and killed their owner and his wife, and asking me for immediate assistance.

. . . . .

I then sent Major van der Heyde there to take command, principally because he understands the Carib language, to which nation I had sent warning on all sides. Before his arrival two men named Clinton Williams and William Williams, with three companions, had taken possession of E. M. Bermingham's house, which is a fairly strong one, and defended it for thirty-six hours against the rebels, all the rest (of the colonists) having fled to Mr Struys in Bourasirie.

. . . . .

At length, more than two hundred of the Caraibans

---

[1] See p. 572 (Note 3).

[2] The reader is referred to the remarks on pp. 637 and 638, and attention is also called, in explanation of Storm's extraordinary activity in this revolt, to the extract on p. 50.

being assembled under van der Heyde, it was resolved to make a general attack upon the 24th, and notice of this was sent to Messrs Looff, Boddaert, and Trotz in Demerary, who take the command down there in turns.

The attack was made, and my son, sent here by Mr Trotz, passed there at 6 o'clock in the morning and told me that the firing had been hellish.

. . . . . .

Eight Caribs, who killed four rebels, have come here for payment; it is their custom that those who have killed a man go away and do not fight again for some time.

The Owl has reported to us that his people were yesterday engaged in trying to discover the place where the rebels were concealed, and that to-day, the 26th, another attack would be made.

On the west coast of this river the slaves belonging to Mr Bakker have also risen, and after having killed their own and A. Zeagers' manager have retired into the bush.

. . . . . .

I have never seen any Acuways come to our assistance with arms. They are good friends, but nothing further. Last week, however, five of them came down and went to van der Heyde, saying that their tribe would come down the Demerary to aid us. I have sent information of this to the Court in Demerary.

Things are in a sad state at present, and the Colony has been on the brink of total ruin. I hope the Almighty will be with us; with Him alone rests the issue. Our resources cannot be weaker; there is as good as no garrison and the burghers are in disagreement and will not obey. They take no heed of the fact that herein lies their salvation and render desperate those who are able and ordered to command them, Mr van der Heyde having earnestly begged for his discharge. What would have happened then?

P.R.O. 476/151

August 29, 1772.

(Extract)

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

The very dangerous condition of the Colony which has been and still is on the brink of total ruin, compels me to report the same to His Serene Highness as speedily as possible, which despatch, being inclosed, I take the liberty of humbly requesting YY. HH. to forward to him at once.

On the night between the 12th and 13th of this month the slaves belonging to P. C. Hoofd on the sea-coast revolted, killing their master and his wife and another planter, and setting fire to the houses on three or four plantations.

Hoofd having received two cases of guns and ammunition for trading purposes all those scoundrels are well armed. Slowly, indeed, exceedingly slowly, did the burghers appear upon the scene after repeated signals of alarm. What could I do with my weak garrison of 43 or 44 men for both rivers?

I immediately sent a sergeant, a corporal, and fifteen men to the coast, together with fifteen well-armed creoles, and on the following day I sent Councillor Broodhaage with another fourteen creoles.

And immediately sent to my good friends the Caribs on all sides asking them to come to our help, which they did not fail to do, for they came down from all parts, and as I write they are three hundred strong on the coast under Councillor van der Heyde, who is perfectly acquainted with their language.

The Burgher-Captain Baron van Grovestins[1], stationed

[1] It is difficult to determine, after this lapse of time, which of the two brothers this was—cf. Note 1 on p. 281.

on van Hoofd's plantation, was twice attacked by the rebels. Capt. Voogt, who relieved him, had also to withstand two attacks. Finally it was resolved to make a general attack on the 25th with the whites there and 200 Caribs. This was done, the rebels being driven from their position and about ten of them killed; according to reports received to-day they have retreated a few hours' march....

There has also been a revolt on the west coast of this river, on Mr Bakker's plantation, the manager of this and the adjoining one having been killed. But by the Lord's blessing this was quickly suppressed, five of the rebels being captured and the rest dispersed in the woods. The neighbouring slaves having remained faithful this had no further consequences.

Incessantly occupied in reading, writing, and dictating it is impossible for me to report more circumstantially by this vessel; I am quite worn out and can hardly go on.

P.R.O. 476/152

September 24, 1772.

(Extracts)

P. C. Hoofd's Indian carpenter, Adam, recently captured and placed in safe keeping on board the "Jan Daniel," was with the rebels from beginning to end and on being interrogated confirmed the accusations against P. Callart in all details. He says it was the plan of the rebels, after having taken possession of E. Bermingham's house and plantation, to have gone to the lower corner of Demerara, then to have returned and attacked J. B. Struys' plantation and thereupon to have gone to the upper part of Demerara, where they thought they would be sufficiently reinforced.

The brave resistance of the two Williams in Bermingham's house and the loyalty of most of that planter's slaves

(the bomba[1] being moreover a real brother of the principal chief, Holstein) frustrated their intentions and afforded time in which to overcome them.

The Colony is greatly indebted to those two brave men, the more so because they had the traitor Callart in their house; according to the declarations of the prisoner the latter found means of secretly handing guns and powder to the rebels out of a window, in spite of being well watched and told by James Williams that if he moved towards them, as he seemed desirous of doing, he would be instantly shot down.

. . . . . .

How painful it is for me, YY. HH., to find in my old age and at the end of thirty-four years of service, and especially in such critical circumstances, that in spite of my unwearying efforts and persistent admonitions, quarrels and discord have reigned not only among the burghers but have found a place even among the rulers[2].

. . . . . .

The Commander *ad interim*[3] is also in high dudgeon, being of opinion that his dignity has been attacked. The brave van der Heyde, to whom as well as to the stout resistance of the two Williams (under the Lord's blessing and with His merciful support) the Colony may be said to owe its safety, is not at all satisfied with what is being said and done in Demerara—in a word, there is a chaos of troubles....

Now, Your Honours, we have convincing proofs that the Colony cannot be held without a strong garrison of at least 200 men; 50 soldiers are better than 400 burghers,

---

[1] Native foreman.

[2] Here follow details of a childish dispute concerning precedence which stops the business of the Courts.

[3] Changuion (see p. 650).

but they must be well-trained soldiers, not the deliveries of crimps.

Had I been able to send 60 or 70 soldiers, well officered I think that tranquillity would soon have been restored, especially if there had been some Caribs with them to search the woods well and hunt the rebels out.

This was Storm's last despatch, and its tenour may be taken as emblematic of his whole career—the obedience, energy, persistence of a soldier and pioneer marred not only by the cavils and petty jealousies of the traders around him but by the smaller aims and understanding of the men at home so ironically misnamed Directors. The appended[1] *resolution from their Proceedings, after deliberation upon Storm's report of the revolt, may also be regarded as typical of the policy their body had pursued throughout in administering a growing and oft-disturbed colony. Toy trumpets for Caribs who had distinguished themselves in suppressing a dangerous rising! Even Netscher, that grave historian, in recording somewhat similar gifts bestowed some three months later, sarcastically remarks, "We see that the West India Co. did not ruin itself by these gifts to its allies." (Men ziet dat de West-Indische Compagnie zich niet ruïneerde met die geschenken aan hare bondgenooten! (Op. cit. p. 391.))*

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[1] Extract from the Resolutions of the West India Company at the Meeting held at Amsterdam, *April 6, 1773* (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* iv. p. 108).

"Having read the letters of the late Director-General, Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande, dated Essequibo, 29th August and 12th September of last year, addressed to the Principal Chamber in Amsterdam, reporting the rising which took place there on the 12th and 13th August,

. . . . .

It was resolved after deliberation...to send some blue drill, combs, beads, toy trumpets and looking glasses to be presented to the Caribs who have distinguished themselves in suppressing the same."

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[1] Abraham Cabeliau, a Dutch merchant, established first in Ghent, later in Amsterdam, emigrated to Sweden at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was consulted by Charles IX with regard to the foundation of Gothenburg. He became burgomaster of that town in *1607* and after the accession of Gustavus in *1611* was appointed Superintendent of Fisheries and Director of Trading Companies. By his zeal and ability he acquired immense wealth, which he frequently used for the glory and defence of the Swedish kingdom, maintaining a squadron and a body of troops at his own expense. His daughter Margaret became the mistress of Gustavus Adolphus and bore that monarch a son, known in history as Gustaf Gustafsson, Earl of Vasaborg. (*La Grande Encyclopédie* and *van der Aa, Biographisch Woordenboek.*)

It were interesting to be able to determine with certainty whether the above personage is identical with the "Commies-Generaal" of the American Voyage; some definite connecting link is still required, and we have therefore not considered ourselves justified in including the hypothesis in our Introduction.

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1847 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.
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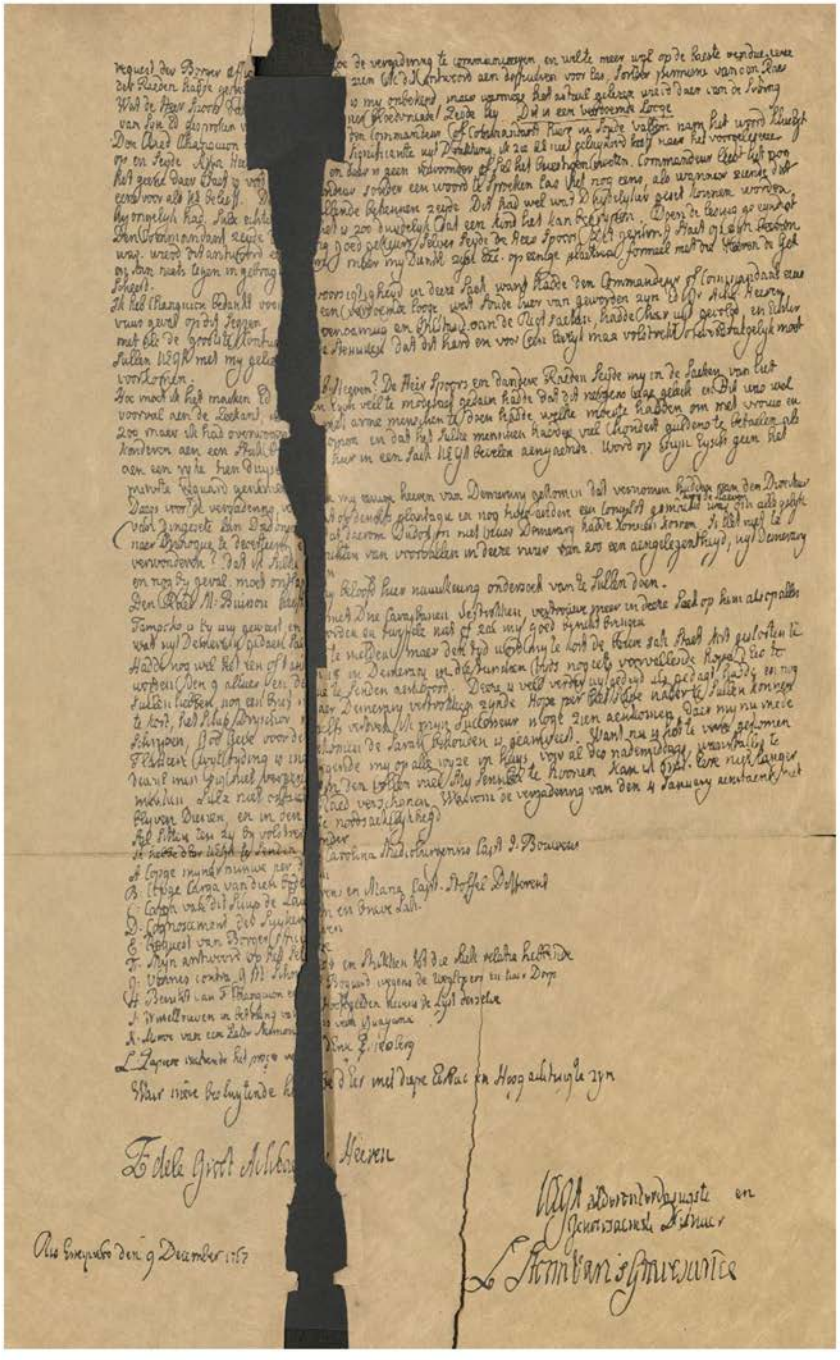

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